NATIONAL REVIEW

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September 23, 1961

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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PRAKASH C. JAIN

So Shall Ye Be Judged

HOLMES ALEXANDER and
WM. F. RICKENBACKER

A Peace Corps in Reverse?

DAVID N. ROWE

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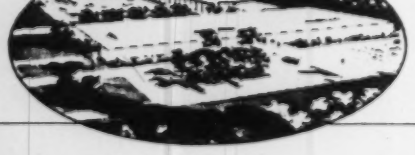

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc. at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn. (second class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.).

Copyright 1961 in the U.S.A. by National Review, Inc. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). The 8-page issues are available separately at $10.00 a year. In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ A well-known New Delhi journalist, whose thoughtfully anti-Communist writings are in refreshing contrast to Pandit Nehru's non-aligned abstractions, discusses the lamentable paradox through which atheist Moscow is permitted to speak in the name of the Spirit while the West muffles its summons under a materialist blanket. **Prakash Jain** has had articles in the *Saturday Evening Post, Town and Country* and other magazines in this country. He is convinced that the American answer to Communist propaganda will never be persuasive so long as it consists, essentially, of statistics on the material achievements in which our society outdoes theirs. . . . **Holmes Alexander,** for many decades a voice of responsible conservatism and honorable patriotism crying from the Potomac wilderness, joins with *NR's* associate editor **Wm. F. Rickenbacker** to bring to the surface a tale long rumbling through the legal and legislative halls of New England and Washington: of an Angry Judge who uses his bench as a roaring turret from which to rake his enemies, personal or ideological, stem to stern.

➔ **William Schulz** continues his Washington reports, and Prof. **David N. Rowe** (Yale), one of the nation's foremost experts on matters Far Eastern, suggests that everything good the Peace Corps is supposed to do could be done a hundred times better and cheaper and more sensibly by turning the operation upside down. . . . Following up Eugene Lyons' recent survey (*NR,* July 26), **James Burnham** gives an example of a successful, and therefore neglected, anti-Communist polwar enterprise. . . . **Russell Kirk** describes how "multiple shops" (big chain store branches) are pushing out Britain's traditional small and personal shops, and argues that this is a result not of inexorable processes of the market but of Big Taxes and Big Unions.

➔ Our review section opens with a critique by editor **L. Brent Bozell,** writing still from his Spanish redoubt, of a book on nuclear war and Christian conscience that in his judgment raises the serious and relevant questions though erring in some of the answers. . . . **Guy Davenport,** who reviews a biography of a painter that, for a change, is something more than a sentimentalized romance pointed at Hollywood, teaches English at Haverford. . . . Four new books that seek to explain how Khrushchev rose to be the world's No. 1 shoe-thumper are discussed by **Walter Darnell Jacobs,** an expert's expert on the Soviet Union, who has written (especially on Soviet military problems) for nearly all publications, lay and academic. His *The Fallacy of Limited War* is due this autumn. . . . No one having the barest nodding acquaintance with science fiction will need an introduction to **Theodore Sturgeon,** who writes as himself an eminently qualified practitioner in that esoteric art about some worthy current performances by his star-gazing confraternity. ➔

Our fight for liberty didn't end in 1781...

A hundred and seventy-nine years after the Revolution we're still confronted with the need for constant vigilance to maintain the rights and freedoms provided by that long ago struggle.

Barely a day passes without a new variation of *federal aid* to something, yet we think too seldom of how we will pick up the check for these deceptive benevolences.

So-called welfare spending, without vigilance on the part of those who supposedly benefit from it, can only be a threat to our real welfare and ultimately a threat to our whole way of life.

But there's no need to throw up our hands while we still have communities like Fremont, Nebraska. There the citizens rallied under their "Declaration of Independence From Federal Dependence."

They proved a community can provide for its own needs without government aid . . . or interference.

They defined so-called federal aid for all of us: *Local tax dollars minus the high cost of freight to Washington and back.*

Fremont is a starting point. Maybe another Lexington, where the fight against a different tyranny started . . . and spread . . . and triumphed.

Maybe.

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The WEEK

● A dreamy young lady of our acquaintance was momentarily intoxicated by the Peace Corps calliope of last January and fired off an application to Washington. Months passed and nothing happened. Then one day her boss called her in, told her he had received an inquiry about her from the Peace Corps, and showed her a letter of recommendation he was about to put in the mail. Never mind, she told him, having in the interval dried out: I'm no longer interested. So the boss dropped the letter in the waste basket. In due course, our friend received a formal notification of where and when to report for her entrance exam. With a passing sigh at bureaucratic bungling, she in turn dropped the notice in the waste basket, and thought no more about it. Until last Sunday, at 3:00 A.M., a peremptory ring of the doorbell jolted her awake. A telegram, from Washington, D.C. Greetings from Sargent Shriver. She had been accepted by the Peace Corps! Report at 8:00 A.M., Monday, at . . .

● On the first day of the hearings by the Senate Armed Services Committee, Defense Secretary McNamara declared that, to the best of his knowledge, he had not ordered cancelled a single anti-Communist strategy seminar. Senator Strom Thurmond observed that *somebody* had cancelled six such seminars to date: in Indianapolis, Fredericksburg, Glenview, San Antonio, Shreveport and the Canal Zone. Mr. McNamara then recalled that all speeches by military personnel, come to think of it, must be cleared with Assistant Defense Secretary Arthur Sylvester. (Said Sylvester turns out to be the former Washington Bureau Chief of the *Newark Evening News* who, while serving in that capacity, directed his energies primarily to attacking congressional investigations of Communism.) In addition, said Mr. McNamara, any speech by military personnel containing "foreign implications" must of course be cleared by the State Department. By whom exactly in the State Department? That, said Mr. Secretary McNamara, I just don't really know. Among the statements with intolerable foreign implications State has recently blue-pencilled from a speech by General Arthur Trudeau: the phrases "Communist conspiracy, directed toward absolute domination of the world"; "the insidious ideology of world Communism"; "nothing has happened to indicate that the goals of international Communism have changed." Washington insiders predict that against the combined weight of the Administration, including the civilian heads of the Pentagon, the bureaucracy, and its servile legislators, the Senate investigators will not get far. At all costs, the New Frontier is determined to maintain the morale of its military censors.

● On September 7 President Kennedy addressed a letter to the heads of the twelve principal steel companies, calling on them to forego any rise in prices this autumn, and hinting that if they did, federal controls might be the reply. He said that a rise in steel prices would have a powerful inflationary effect that could lead to major trouble in the economy. It is hard to judge which was more questionable in his letter's argument: its economics or its morality. Are the prices a company charges, then, a matter merely of arbitrary personal choice by management? Let's get back quickly to the old-fashioned five cent cigar! If prices do not cover costs, how does Mr. Kennedy think the steel industry can keep going, not to speak of improving and expanding on the scale that a growthman like the President believes in? And if prices *are* kept artificially low, will the President welcome the shutting down of higher cost plants and pruning of marginal jobs that would have to follow, with the resultant swelling of unemployment rolls? But these economic queries are no more puzzling than the moral. If the President of all the nation worries so about the inflationary potential of high steel prices, why not write a second letter to his Treasury Department demanding a cut in the tax rate that pushes the prices upward? Or, in still closer parallel, a letter to the steel union requesting it to "forego" a raise in wages? There has been no very clear sign that the steel companies were going to raise the price level in any event—increased costs call for it, but intense competition and idle plant capacity make it difficult to get away with. But everyone has known for a long time that steel wages *are* going up this autumn—four per cent or more on October 1. Or hasn't the President heard?

● The Interstate Commerce Commission, reversing itself, has come out for subsidizing the railroads. Thus it must all end: if competing forms of travel are subsidized, if monopoly labor unions are protected by the law in their uneconomic exactions, if taxes remain high, and a central bureaucracy inhibits the capacity of the railroad to respond to changing conditions, then the answer must be—of course! —federal subsidies for the operators. It would have been much more to the point if the ICC had recommended its own abolition, which would be worth more to the railroads than millions in federal aid. Failing that, with more and more subsidies for every enterprise in the nation, we are headed toward that definitive traffic jam, the only solution to which is to pour a layer of concrete over the tops of all the cars, and start afresh: with no subsidies for anyone.

● Look for the fighting in South Vietnam to become big news in the next few months. Today, in the shade of Berlin and the mushroom clouds over Central Asia, the skirmishes in South Vietnam which take ten lives here and a hundred there go almost unnoticed. But the Viet Cong, as the Communist guerrillas are called, is using the same tactics of hit and run ambush, of political assassination and terror, which finally routed the French and forced their withdrawal from Indochina seven years ago. The Communists are supplied from North Vietnam; they have staging areas and hospitals in neutral Cambodia; they move across the Laotian border with impunity. Only the fact that the South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem is a purposive and knowing anti-Communist (one of his brothers was buried alive by Ho Chi Minh) has kept South Vietnam firmly in the Western camp. And he will stay in charge only so long as the United States makes it known that this is the line on which we will dig in in Southeast Asia: an Indochinese Verdun.

● Early in August, Khrushchev reaffirmed the historic Soviet line on the critical role of the Russian armies in beating Japan, by saying to interviewer Drew Pearson: "The Soviet army routed the main nucleus of Japanese troops, the Kwantung army in Manchuria." 2) On August 30, in his lengthy announcement on the resumption of nuclear tests, Khrushchev denounced the United States' use of the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki:—"on the land of the enemy who actually *had already been routed.*" 3) The U.S. dropped the bomb on Hiroshima on August 5, 1945. 4) The Soviet Union declared war on Japan on August 9. 5) QED: Japan "had already been routed" before the USSR entered the war. 6) Soviet historians please note.

● The President's Civil Rights Commission proposes that all states automatically admit to the ballot any person who has received a sixth-grade education or better (unanimous), and that the states be forbidden to deny the vote except to the criminal classes (4-2). In the excitement with which the proposals were greeted by the egalitarian press, it was overlooked that the Constitution of the United States vests in the individual states the power to decide what shall be the voter's qualifications, provided only that a state may not discriminate against a person on account of sex or color. The Commission presumably desires a Constitutional Amendment, either through the normal process or, failing that, by turning the matter over to the Warren Court, our standing constitutional convention. We regret the substance of the proposal. Not because a fifth-grade graduate would necessarily cast less wise a ballot than a Harvard Ph.D., but because the mechanical enlargement of the franchise is an unintelligent abuse of respectable democratic theory. No one should be denied the vote merely because he did not go through the sixth grade—nor awarded the vote merely because he did. If we are to climb up out of the egalitarian abstractions of democracy, we must resist the superstition of one-man, one-votism. And the best means by which to make progress, is to encourage individual states to experiment with selective voting criteria. And what do you know, that is what the Constitution provides! No doubt if Madison, Hamilton and Jay had had a Commission on Civil Rights, and the advice of Gunnar Myrdal and Whitney North Seymour, they'd have done better by us.

● Entering its second year of publication: *Albatross*, a non-partisan intercollegiate magazine made up of letters interchanged between college students and prominent public figures. Not only a fresh idea, but an accurate name: for anything that calls itself non-partisan is well named for the creature that can spend months out of reach of solid ground. Non-partisan bird-lovers and all those interested in Student Opinion may address their inquiries to *Albatross*, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Ancient mariners need not apply.

● A reader who subscribed a few years ago to *Time & Tide* on the strength of its having advertised itself in NATIONAL REVIEW as, roughly, the English counterpart to same, writes: "I am one of those suckers who automatically renew my subscription to anything I dimly approve of, whether I get a chance to read it or not (you should see the poor mailman struggling under my load). Well, yesterday, after maybe a year of neglect, I read the current issue: and I ask you, can *you* make anything of it?" No, we cannot: that is, we cannot relate it to the other *T & T*, back in the days of Lady Rhondda and Anthony Lejeune. Under new management, *Time & Tide* has become simply another magazine, dipping into the general reservoir of British writers, who say there pretty much what they say everywhere else. Magazines are complex things, and it is dangerous to characterize them. But if one had to use shorthand, one would say: *Time & Tide* is no longer a conservative's magazine. Pity, because that means that in the land of Johnson and Burke, Disraeli and Churchill, there is not left one unapologetically conservative weekly journal of opinion.

● The *New York Times*, Sunday, September 10, Review of the Week, map, page 3, shows Cuba as a neutral ("non-aligned") country. We like to think the type wasn't originally set up that way, but that deep in the night, when not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse, a tall, elderly man tippytoed down to

the composing room, slid out next Sunday's plates, and performed a little typographical lobotomy on his beloved Cuba . . . and so, smiling at his most recent service to the cause, Herbert Matthews walked upstairs, and home, to bed.

The Great Fallout Hoax

NR is, we believe, the only American magazine that consistently and continuously opposed this country's acceptance of a ban on nuclear tests. We are naturally gratified that the President has announced that tests will resume. But we regret a number of the circumstances of his belated shift in policy: 1) once more the initiative was in the enemy's hands, and our government's decision only a defensive reflex to his move instead of a resolute assertion of our own will and interest; 2) the self-imposed restriction to underground blasts will block experiments that our security requires; and 3) the President himself, the other Administration spokesmen, and most of the press, are demagogically exploiting the pseudo-issue of fallout for a minor short-term propaganda profit that may turn into a staggering long-term loss.

Khrushchev's tests, the *New York Times* echoes the President, bring a "poisoning of the world's atmosphere." We, Boy Scouts that we are, don't really want any tests at all; but since Khrushchev forces us to have them ("We have no other choice," declared the President), we'll only set off little tests way down under the earth, so clean they won't poison a mole. And thus we'll win the minds of the nonaligned billion over to our side against the Great Contaminator. We are trying to play it like a slick adman, or a TV debater who jumps for the phrase that puts a quick verbal lock on his opponent.

Now in this way we end up reinforcing the enemy's campaign of psychological terror. What the enemy seeks to do, yesterday, today and tomorrow, is to destroy our will to resist him. He finds as one, perhaps the most important, means to this purpose, the stimulation of our fear of the horrors that firm resistance might bring. Accordingly, his persistent hammering on the theme of the frightfulness of nuclear warfare. Accordingly, his harping—preferably at second and third remove, through dupes and fools—on radioactive fallout. For fallout is admirably suited to arouse in our day the kind of irrational fears that in past ages were focused on the uncomprehended threats of plague and natural disaster. In nightmare fantasies, to which the learned seem to succumb as readily as the uninformed, fallout comes like a thief in the night, like the shadow of death, mystery-wrapped, unseen, unheard, touching the skin like the unclean stroke of leprosy, leaving lingering desolation in its wake, and visiting its awful curse even unto the third and the thirty-third generations. Contemplating fallout, orderly prose slips easily into the rhetoric of panic.

Now the truth, as confirmed and reconfirmed by objective scientific knowledge, is that the fallout to be expected even from all-out nuclear warfare is much less than the total threat that popular myth (*cf. On the Beach*) pictures. And—what is more directly to the present point—the fallout from such atmospheric tests as have been conducted in the past by both sides, and are currently being conducted by Russia, are a negligible danger to mankind.

The detailed investigation by the National Academy of Science found that thirty years of nuclear testing at the rate of the most active period so far (1951-56) would raise the average human radiation dose by less than one-seventieth of the dose received over the same period from natural ("background") radiation and dental X-rays. In spite of the all but universally popular belief to the contrary, there is no empirical evidence that even very intense fallout—such as experienced by animals close to test sites—results in abnormal descendants.

The President and his technical advisers presumably know these scientific conclusions. That is why

their exploitation of the fallout myth is demagogic, irresponsible. It certainly doesn't upset the Russians, who go right ahead with their test program, without fretting over the fallout on their own people and territories. But it does help the Russians terrorize the rest of us.

Moreover, this fallout poison propaganda becomes a road block in the way of our resumption of the atmospheric tests which our own security now demands as imperatively as underground tests. *NR* is in a position to state what the President and his spokesmen have so far failed to tell us: the proper development of the weapon that can have the decisive influence on the world balance of military power—the anti-missile missile—is impossible without nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

Bearding the Dragon

We are only a few weeks away from the great showdown in the United Nations on the matter of Red China. The pressures mount. Two books, freshly minted, urge admission. One, *Awakened China: The Country Americans Don't Know* is so fraudulent a case of special pleading for Communist China as to be obviously such even to the *New York Times'* Book Review Section, which is to say, it is a very obvious book indeed. Another is by a member of the speech department at the University of Pittsburgh, Mr. Robert P. Newman, as yet unexamined, but fraught, to judge by the advance publicity, with the rhetoric of Inevitability.

But the opposition is fighting harder than ever before. The Committee of One Million has scheduled a monster rally at Carnegie Hall for September 21, at which Senator Dodd, Congressman Judd, Mr. Martin McKneally (former commander of the American Legion) and others will speak. In addition, the Committee of One Million has put out a stirring 16 mm documentary film (available at $125 from Communications Distribution, 79 Madison Ave., New York 16), narrated by Lowell Thomas and including resolute statements by Mr. Judd and Senators Dodd and Douglas. Mr. Douglas up and advocates the use of the veto by the United States delegation to keep Red China out. "Let me say," Mr. Douglas declares movingly, "that I have never been afraid of being in a minority if I felt that my cause was correct. There is altogether too great a tendency in modern life to go along with the procession in order to feel part of the wave of history. Sometimes the wave of history reverses itself, and I believe that one should stand for what one believes to be right, even though one is in a minority. I certainly do not grant that the forces in favor of admission are going to get the necessary two-thirds or that they will wear us out within the Security Council itself." And, it is rumored, Senator Goldwater has prepared a statement taking a stand as strong if not stronger than that of his Liberal colleague in the Senate. The cause is bipartisan. The stakes are the spirit of freedom in Asia, and, indeed, everywhere else.

Next Time

Yes, Ed Nash got beat for the New York City Council, *but*: Nash was running for public office for the first time in his life, began the campaign as a complete unknown, had as his backers two organizations (Young Americans for Freedom and the Young Conservative Campaign Committee) as inexperienced as he, and was up against real time-serving pros, backed by every committee and ward-heeler in the Republican and the Liberal Party organizations—plus, if that be an asset, Governor Rockefeller his own self.

More, Ed Nash and YAF and YCCC hid none of their Tory candles under any of the (many) available bushels: their campaign was out-and-out, unabashed, conservative, based on principle, and waged with courage and devotion. More again, Ed Nash polled a big vote despite a typical last-minute machine-style dirty trick (including a telephone campaign assuring voters that he was off the ballot). So maybe the interesting question isn't whether Nash got beat, but who, next time around when there's experience on both sides but principle and devotion on only one, who's going to get beat *next* time.

Fourteen for Survival

Never mind that they did it by prearrangement. Never mind that the speeches were prepared in advance and as, if you like, a stunt. Never mind, that as usually happens with House oratory, chances are nobody was paying much attention. The fact remains that when fourteen Freshman members of the House of Representatives arise and deliver themselves, in sequence, of sound conservative pronouncements on urgent problems of public policy, that, boy, is *news*. And when the fourteen (with, *if* you please, the blessing of the Minority Leader) proceed to equate conservative policies with the very survival of the nations, that is not merely *news* but NEWS. To vary the song that was popular when most *NR* editors were youngsters,

In something like a century and a half,
It's only happened once

—but the rest of the song

It probably never will happen again
In months and months and months

will not do, because one senses as one reads the speeches, each and every one of the round robin: these are men who will return to the fray, again and again and at every opportunity. They are men who burn with a message. And that message is that continued pursuit of certain existing public policies will mean that America will perish. It will happen again, because these are men who are determined that America shall survive.

Take Congressman Donald Bruce of Indiana, who captained "Operation Survival" (see the *Congressional Record* for September 7): "We have," he says in his eloquent introductory remarks, "educated ourselves in an attempt to restore a balance in Government, a withdrawal of federal control from the multiple intrusions into the lives of the people, a pledge to fiscal integrity, moral responsibility, and sound progress based upon constitutional liberty."

Or Representative Shriver of Kansas, who believes that the American people are indeed willing to spend whatever is necessary to insure the defense and security of the nation, but adds: "The great majority of my constituents favor postponement of new domestic programs to finance the greater defense spending."

Or Representative Hjalmar C. Nygaard of North Dakota, who insists upon the incompatibility between present wage policies and the drive for exports required for the health of our economy: "We cannot indulge in make-work, shirk-work practices, artificial restrictions on uses of new equipment or processes, or have unions quarreling over work jurisdictions whether at missile bases or factories."

Or Representative Paul Findley of Illinois: "The new Administration tries to meet every problem with increased spending. Debt is to be managed, not paid off. Living beyond our means is a luxury we can ill afford . . ."

Or Representative Durward C. Hall of Missouri, himself a physician, who has at socialized medicine and everything smacking of socialized medicine. Or Representative Bob Dole of Kansas, who lays it on the line about current proposals for undercutting the "independent agencies": ". . . Government regulation," he insists, "where necessary, should ever reside with Congress." Or Representative Ralph Beerman of Nebraska, who makes a stirring plea for getting government out of the farm problem. Or Representative John Rousselot, who demands that government get out of the housing problem as well. Or Representative James Battin, who wants us at last to "lay our cards on the table" in our dealings with the Soviets, and shows he understands what that would involve. Or Representative John Anderson of Illinois, who reminds the House that the Communists have been winning because "they have been truly at war with us, while we have tried to make

For the Record

Administration has rushed its No. 1 trouble-shooter Lyndon Johnson (Laos, Formosa, Berlin) to the U.S. Senate, to try to work out compromise which will avoid full-fledged inquiry by Senate Armed Services Committee on muzzling of the military. . . . By a week ago Friday, Committee members had received 150,000 (that's right) letters, telegrams urging action on Gen. Walker case; crackdown on Pentagon censors; information on why anti-Communist seminars are being cancelled. . . . Sen. Russell's office so filled with mail bags last Monday morning the staff could hardly get in. . . . Word in Washington is that what's afflicting Speaker Rayburn is "anti-Kennedy fever" (a new, but no-longer-rare disease). . . . Although Mayor Wagner considered to have inside track on N.Y. Democratic gubernatorial nomination next year (since his successful bouncing of bosses), there's some talk that State Department protocol chief Angier Biddle Duke will be in running.

Sen. Dodd's blast at U.S. support of UN's Katanga policy—virtually unreported—was the bitterest attack on the UN from the Senate floor in recent years. . . . The UN, incidentally, provided plane transportation from Belgrade to Léopoldville last week for Angola rebel leader Roberto Holden. . . . Two servicemen, a South African officer and a British private, recently captured in the Congo by Baluba tribesmen, were killed and eaten. . . . The 3,000 Cuban children sent to Russia for "technical training" are, say refugee sources, actually hostages for suspect families in Cuba. . . . Costa Rica, which had warned it would break off relations with Castro if he continued his political executions, did so last week after Fidel sent five freedom fighters to the wall.

Going the rounds in Iron Curtain circles, this story on collapse of the nuclear test talks. Reporter to Soviet delegate Tsarapkin: "Why did you call them off?" Tsarapkin: "After 399 sessions we had finally reached the point where we had enough!" "Enough of the talks?" asked the journalist. "No," replied Tsarapkin, "enough atom bombs."

ourselves believe that the cold war was really just a synonym for unrest. . . . brought on by the new nationalism or anti-colonialism." Or Representative Henry C. Schadeberg of Wisconsin, or Representative David T. Martin of Nebraska, or Representative James E. Bromwell of Iowa, or Representative John Ashbrook of Ohio, any of whom can start writing editorials for this magazine any time they like.

Sure, we know: one swallow doesn't make a summer. But fourteen congressmen is fourteen votes, boy, and big oaks from little acorns grow, and think what we could do with one half plus one of 437 Congressmen who talk like *that!*

The Workers Be Damned

In 1956 the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the union shop provision of the Railway Labor Act. Six employees of Southern Railway then attacked the union shop provision by bringing suit in the Georgia courts on another ground: that they were denied their rights under the First, Fifth, and Ninth Amendments when part of their dues went for political activities they didn't approve of.

The Georgia courts, ruling that such political spending by unions was unconstitutional, forbade the enforcement of the union shop clause in Southern Railway contracts. The unions appealed the case to the Supreme Court. Last June 19 the Supreme Court handed down its decision (*International Association of Machinists* v. *Street*)—and an incredible decision it is.

When Congress added a union shop clause to the Railway Labor Act, said the Court, it intended that all employees should be made to pay for bargaining and other union activities, but not for political activities. Therefore, the Georgia workers had a good case. But the Georgia courts were not justified in their general prohibition of the union shop. Instead, any union member who disagrees with the political activities of his union should have that portion of his dues refunded that represents the portion of such political activities in the total budget of the union. In theory, well and good: but in practice . . .

Any worker who disapproves of some part of his union's political activity must get his hands on the union's budget, calculate the cost of the particular activity he dislikes, compute the ratio of that cost to the total budget of the union, apply that ratio to his dues, file a formal protest, and sue for the refund of that portion of his dues. All this, from a union that will not only resist him at every step but most probably add a few flourishes—you know, paint bombs tossed into the worker's home, phone calls at midnight, obscure menaces, and similar civilities.

Justice Black, in his dissent, said, "It may be that courts and lawyers with sufficient skill in accounting, algebra, geometry, trigonometry and calculus will be able to extract the proper microscopic answer from the voluminous and complex accounting records of the local, national and international unions involved. It seems to me, however, that while the Court's remedy may prove very lucrative to special masters, accountants and lawyers, this formula, with its attendant trial burdens, promises little hope for financial recompense to the individual workers whose First Amendment freedoms have been flagrantly violated."

Naturally, the Court decision doesn't bother the labor leaders. It approves of the union shop; it sanctions the political activities of unions; it reverses the Georgia court decisions; and it raises hideous obstacles to union members seeking relief.

Time was, the railroads said, "The public be damned!" For that arrogance they have been whipped unconscious. Now all power is to the unions, and power there corrupts as power always does. The unions now display the same arrogance. In time they will meet the same justice. Pray that time be not long in coming!

Separate but Equal?

"Caroline Kennedy's White House school will consist of 'a personal play group' rather than taking on the formality of a little red schoolhouse. Asked whether the group would be segregated or integrated, Press Secretary Pierre Salinger said: 'This is Caroline's personal play group made up of her personal friends, and I'm not going to ask their race, creed or color.' "

New York World-Telegram

Dear Jack:
I hate to seem a fool,
But now that Caroline's in school
I'd like to pass on one complaint:
She's in, but integration ain't!
Don't get me wrong. I've taken stands
For private schools in private hands;
The choice was strictly yours to make,
And you, you'd rather segregate.
(What's "equal" for the likes of me
Is "sep'rate" or the C-in-C.)
Okay. But did you fail to see
Those schools in Washington, D.C.?
Chief Justice Warren thinks they're *great* . . .
I know. "You'd rather segregate."
Good luck with Barry on the Hill.
My best to mother. Fondly, Bill.

W. H. VON DREELE

An Open Letter

to Father Thurston Davis, S.J., Editor, *America*

During the past few weeks, several editors of Catholic magazines and diocesan newspapers have gleefully seized upon NATIONAL REVIEW'S *references (July 29) to Pope John's recent encyclical,* Mater et Magistra, *as excellent grounds for a good hanging party. I am not myself particularly surprised, as I have grown used to humorless polemical opportunism, which goes on among American ideologues irrespective of race, color or creed. But I care very much that those readers of* NATIONAL REVIEW *who are Catholics, and live within the firing range of the aforementioned press, should not feel cowed by the local zealotry.*

For that reason I wrote three weeks ago an open letter to Father Thurston Davis, editor of America, *the Mourner-in-Chief, discussing the nature of the resentment over* NATIONAL REVIEW'S *commentary. I sent copies of that letter to all bereaved editors, hoping to staunch their grief by a reasoned analysis. But* America *has declined to publish my soothing words, as have the other editorial ululators, who appear to resent any interruption of their tribulation, even in the high cause of free speech.*

I therefore publish the letter below, for the benefit of our Catholic readers. And I beg the pardon of our non-Catholic readers, who are of course interested in any general commentary involving political trends within the Catholic Church, for devoting so much space to what must strike many of them as a venture in triviality. —*W. F. B. Jr.*

Dear Father Davis:

Let us begin by distinguishing between NATIONAL REVIEW's editorial treatment of *Mater et Magistra,* and the lighthearted quip about it which we published in our periscopic gossip column, "For the Record." To deal first with the latter, let me say plainly what I thought we'd never be called upon to say: the crack *Mater Si, Magistra No,* which originated with a Catholic scholar and journalist in Virginia, was a flippancy, pure and simple. It was hardly a hammerblow driving articles of defiance into the Vatican's churchdoor. I am absolutely astonished that any serious man, endowed or not with a sense of humor, should so have construed it. If—God forbid—I should ever be tempted to defy the teaching authority of the Church, whose cause I have taken seriously ever since I was in my teens (Dwight Macdonald referred to me in the *Reporter* as a Savonarola-type when I was 23 years old), I shall not announce my apostasy in doggerel.

I take no objection to your denouncing the flippancy as having been in imperfect taste: I am quite prepared to subject myself to the criticism of my elders on such matters. I very much object, however, to the solemn construction you and other critics, equating orthodoxy with an arch solemnity, gave to what was merely a *jeu d'esprit.* I ask myself: What on earth seized Father Davis—and Father Smith, and Monsignor Higgins, and Mr. Donald McDonald—to strike out on so reckless a tack? Do they sincerely *believe* that I have decided to reject the *depositum fidei* because along came an encyclical whose rhetorical emphases disappointed me? I cannot bring myself to entertain so condescending a version of your intelligence and wit. I chose, and choose even now, to believe rather that we have before us an act of opportunism which you should search your conscience to justify. You know what is NATIONAL REVIEW'S mode. It matters not whether you approve of it: you know it is our mode, and you must understand what we do in context of that knowledge. Proceed, if you like, publicly to despair over our insouciance or frivolity—but to edge us over into infidelity is more than uncharitable; it is irrational, and, in the true sense, scandalous.

Last summer a business executive, who probably once had heard one of Bishop Sheen's speeches on the place of humor in Catholic life, or read a volume by Chesterton, gave way to an impulse of political exuberance, and titillated a rally of local Republicans by announcing that the Democratic prayer had, at the Los Angeles convention, been amended to read, "Hail Mary, you all." The next day the wretched man, a vice president of General Motors, was almost drowned by cries of Intolerance and anti-Catholicism. He managed, before going down for the third time, to thrust forward his scapulars and announce to the press that a) he was, far from being anti-Catholic, a Catholic himself; that b) he had devoted much of his spare time to raising money for Catholic charities; that c) he had been awarded any number of Catholic honors and decorations. . . . His critics, finally satisfied, left, though it is reported he was still numbly professing his faith one hour later, having brought in a

Providence Journal

"I did it with a few wild swings"

certified public accountant to tally the number of indulgences he had earned over the preceding decade.

On that occasion, NATIONAL REVIEW remarked on the terrible dangers of a prurient search for sacrilege in the hugger-mugger of secular exchanges. Jonathan Swift wrote a modest proposal that eighteenth-century Ireland solve its social problems by eating supernumerary babies. Things were pretty grim in eighteenth-century Ireland, but God was good to have spared Dr. Swift coexistence with *America*, and *Commonweal*, and Mr. Donald McDonald.

Let me say it again. I do not object to your saying this flippancy, or that, is tasteless, or even—provided you say it carefully—subversive in objective effect. A friend of mine heard a priest say from the altar last January 21, "Hail Mary, full of grace/The Masons are in second place." Now, if I were cornered and had to express myself on the taste of this jest—entered under the putative rubric of the Holy Ghost—I confess I would deplore its gracelessness, though I think I would not search out a public opportunity for doing so. It would not occur to me to suggest that here was evidence that the priest's partisan political fervor had displaced his sublimer commitments to charity, understanding and love.

You raise the question of our response to the Encyclical itself. You commit the error, if my understanding is correct, of confusing decorum and fidelity. In exclusively Catholic circles, Catholic decorum must—and should—prevail. You are no doubt aware that Senator John Kennedy, upon greeting Cardinal Cushing when the two came together on a public platform before thousands of alumni, to receive honorary degrees from Harvard, declined to kiss his Ordinary's ring: on the grounds, presumably, that the semi-liturgical obeisance, in such surroundings, would have been inappropriate; more, that its memorialization coast-to-coast by the AP photoservice might have caused a lamentable dissension in a Protestant community ever eager to find confirming evidence of the kind of servility which is athwart traditional American notions of the proper relationship between Church and State. I am not so sure Mr. Kennedy's conspicuous departure from Catholic etiquette was clearly justified, but neither I, a political opponent of Mr. Kennedy, nor you, a political ally, transmuted his act into a gesture of defiance of the prerogatives of a prince of the Holy Roman Catholic Church.

Mater et Magistra was released as a very public document. It entered into the bustle of political controversy and demanded attention as a political document. NATIONAL REVIEW wrote the plain truth when it said that parts of it "must strike some"—of course they so struck some!—"as a venture in triviality." I consider that the body of papal literature—and I have often said this, in public platforms across the land—is the most important literature, in behalf of the highest claims of humankind, that has been generated out of any single modern source. In no way is that generality contravened by the specific criticisms NATIONAL REVIEW made of the order of emphasis of a single encyclical. Indeed, the editorial in question spoke not one word of criticism of the intrinsic merit of *Mater et Magistra*. Our disappointment was confined to the matter of emphasis, and timing, and by implication, to the document's exploitability by the enemies of Christendom, a premonition rapidly confirmed by the Encyclical's obscene cooption by such declared enemies of the spiritual order as the *New Statesman* and the *Manchester Guardian*, which hailed the conversion of the Pope to Socialism!

What on earth would you expect an ecumenical Christian journal to do under the circumstances! Curtsey and go away? You are infinitely patient with the dogged materialism and secularism of the United Nations. Yet you seem to be denying to a Christian journal of opinion the expression of its opinions on the tactical or strategical uses of a single encyclical and, in the process, calling into question the traditionally exercised right of Catholics generally, to analyze and discuss and weigh, in context of their abiding faith, the meaning of papal encyclicals. I am as a Christian journalist dismayed by your position. And as a fervent Catholic I am appalled by your methods. You publicly announce yourself, with imperial presumption, as "*The* National Catholic Weekly Review"; I explicitly deny your claim. If you are indeed *the* voice of the Catholic Church in America, then your words are to some extent solemnized. But can seemingly invincible ignorance be solemnized? One of your staff declared (*America*, November 28, 1959) that NATIONAL REVIEW's editor argues a case for a society ". . . . in which . . . individuals of every rank would be equally and absolutely free to rummage in garbage pails for their dinner and to use park benches for their bedding." Your haughty dismissal of the painstaking efforts of the writers and staff of NATIONAL REVIEW to further the course of truth and freedom and love and Christianity represents a lapse into an ideological sectarianism which is a continuing affront upon the transcendent imperatives of an engaged Catholicism. Why does not the censorious National Catholic Weekly try to comprehend the efforts of that great body of American Catholic opinion which has found a truer political expression of the faith of our fathers in NATIONAL REVIEW than in your own journal?

A final word. In refusing to accept any further advertisements, you have levelled against us your ultimate sanction—one which NATIONAL REVIEW uses only against Fascists and Communists and racists. Five years ago, you announced that you would refuse to accept manuscripts from any writer whose name appeared on the masthead of NATIONAL REVIEW, specifically rejecting articles you had months before accepted from Drs. Russell Kirk and Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn. Granted, in due course prudence prevailed, and you relaxed the embargo. But your record of animosity has been consistent. During these five years, NATIONAL REVIEW has entered into the public record as distinguished a series of analyses, and exhortations, and criticisms, and belletrisms as any journal in the land—enough to commend us to a legion of Catholic readers, of humble and exalted standing. I hope you will, from time to time, review the grounds of your new anathema. When we stand together, as well we may, in that final foxhole, you will discover, as we pass each other the ammunition, that all along we had the same enemy: and that if we had acted in concert, we might have spared ourselves that final encounter, under such desperate circumstances.

Yours faithfully,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Washington

More U. S. Prisoners, More Censorship

WILLIAM SCHULZ

The Administration has written off as "hopeless" the case of 22-year-old William Makinen, arrested and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment as an American spy by Soviet authorities. The State Department says the charges against Makinen are false. But beyond making the ritualistic protests, State plans no other action—not even the denial of visas for other American tourists to visit the Soviet Union where they have no guarantee against arbitrary arrest and secret trial. When Khrushchev wanted to demonstrate to the world a year ago that the United States was engaged in espionage activities against the USSR—at the time of the U-2 incident—he rounded up a dozen or more young American students and either expelled them at once, or tried them as spies and then expelled them. This year, to coincide with his fresh terror campaign, he picked on a likely candidate, William Makinen, who now joins several thousand other Americans in Iron Curtain jails.

In 1954, the Soviet Union released two imprisoned Americans, Homer M. Cox and Leland Towers, after they had been identified by returning Austrian prisoners. Cox and Towers, in turn, named four Americans they personally knew to be in Red hands and reported the whereabouts of six others. The State Department then admitted that more than 5,000 American citizens were held in the USSR and satellite countries, in addition to several times as many whose claims to U. S. citizenship were tenable.

Two years later, in July 1956, the Department sent the Kremlin a note protesting "Soviet detention of U. S. aircraft incident survivors." Based on "reports so persistent and detailed and so credible" the State Department declared, "the U. S. government is compelled to believe" that the USSR is holding crew members of two planes downed over Soviet territory. The note added, "it may well be that the Soviet Government has in its custody crews of other aircraft" lost in the Korean War. One such crewman is Captain Logan, an American pilot whose B-29 was shot down by a Red Mig on September 9, 1950. Two months later an official Soviet photo agency released Logan's picture with his statement that he had been captured by the Communists. The State Department says that it has "no idea" where Logan is now.

Cuban Communist Party boss, Blas Roca, showed up in Moscow recently to inform Premier Khrushchev of Fidel Castro's latest brain child: a nation-wide literacy campaign under which Cuba's six million people will learn to speak Russian. Roca told Khrushchev that 2,300 Cuban teachers were to be trained in Russian before the program could begin. He asked for a hundred Soviet professors to start the campaign off. Castro officially announced the program on September 6 in a radio broadcast beamed to the entire island. He looks forward to the day "when we shall have to learn another language—Chinese." An intelligence agency monitoring the broadcast reported "instead of the Cuban national anthem usually played at the conclusion of speeches by Fidel Castro, the *Internationale* was played." Implementing the Castro directive will be 29-year-old Armando Hart, the country's Minister of Education. A leader in the Communist Youth Movement, Hart fought alongside Castro in the hills of eastern Cuba.

For eight long and often dreary years, Congressman John Moss battled for the "right to know," taking on Eisenhower censors in virtually every government agency. The California Democrat seems noticeably uninterested, however, in a freedom of information controversy now raging within Congress. This involves Minnesota's John A. Blatnik, chairman of the Special House subcommittee to investigate the Interstate Highway Program. Since the group's creation in September 1959, Blatnik has refused to let Republican members inspect Committee files, on the grounds he does not want them "spying on my investigators." This despite House Rule XI (25), which states: "all Committee hearings, records, data, charts and files shall be kept separate and distinct from the congressional office records of the members serving as chairmen of the Committee: and such records shall be the property of the House and all members of the House shall have access to such records."

Florida's William Cramer, ranking Republican on the Committee, has fought from the beginning to see the files. He has brought the matter up at several meetings of the Committee. In each case, the heavily staffed Committee has voted along Party lines to deny him access. On June 28, in a desperation move, Cramer addressed a letter to Lewis Deschler, Parliamentarian of the House, asking for an official ruling on the subject. Today, more than two months later, he is still awaiting an answer. Cornered on the floor, Deschler told Cramer that he would discuss the case only if Blatnik were present. But alas, the Minnesota Democrat is "unable to find time."

Blatnik's unwillingness to open the Committee's files is understandable from a partisan point of view. They contain voluminous information on the Massachusetts road situation, much of it embarrassing to important Democrats. Blatnik admits, for instance, that he has in his possession letters written by President Kennedy and House Majority Leader McCormack in behalf of a Massachusetts road builder who dispensed some $275,000 in bribes to Massachusetts state officials. Similar letters written by New Jersey Congressman Frank Thompson and former Assistant Postmaster General Robert Burkhart, are also known to be in the Committee's files. Other information is said to reflect unfavorably on at least one Massachusetts congressman and a number of key aides to former Governor Foster Furcolo.

Blatnik plans to hold a quickie hearing in Massachusetts late this fall to quiet rumors the Democratic leadership has put the state "off limits." Scope of the hearings will be limited, however, dealing only with land damages paid by the state.

The Third World War

Cold War Opportunity

JAMES BURNHAM

In its July 26 issue *NR* published a report by Eugene Lyons ("Starvation Corner") on the difficult time that local anti-Communist enterprises have, all over the world, in trying to get financial backing. He cited a variety of instances that he had found during a recent trip to the Far East. From my own observations I could add dozens of entries to his list. Here is one summary record.

Burnham

At the end of the war, a small group of extremely able Poles—graduates of the Polish fighting against both Nazis and Russians in 1939, of Russian concentration camps in 1940-41, and of General Anders' Italian campaigns of 1943-45—decided that they could best continue fighting for their country's freedom in exile. They set up headquarters in a suburb of Paris. As focus of their enterprise, they undertook publication of a monthly magazine, giving it the name (*Kultura*) of the magazine that one of their number—Jerzy Giedroyc—had edited in prewar Poland. *Kultura* (in issues up to 150 or more pages) has continued to appear ever since. It soon became the foremost Polish magazine in the world—outside *or* inside Poland.

At their headquarters (where several of them reside as well as work) they have assembled a large and first-class library. They have translated and have distributed inside Poland and elsewhere in eastern Europe, the books of many Western writers, among them Koestler, Malraux, Orwell, and two of my books dealing with the Cold War. They handled the translation, and distribution in Poland, of Boris Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*. A few years ago they prepared and published a three-volume encyclopedic study of Poland under Communist rule.

From the outset Giedroyc and his *Kultura* associates have rejected the chauvinism that has been the traditional plague of eastern Europe. They see the future of a free Poland as part of an East European federation that would be part of a federated Europe. They have therefore always collaborated wtih non-Polish East European exiles, and have had especially close relations with Ukrainians, Czechs, Yugoslavs and Germans. Last year, Giedroyc published a large anthology of Ukrainian literature, which he is distributing by clandestine means inside the Soviet Ukraine.

Unavoidable Dialogue

Although *Kultura* publications are read in Polish throughout the world, the audience at which the enterprise aims, and for which it exists, lies behind the Iron Curtain. And this audience, or part of it, is being reached, not only in Poland but more generally in East Europe, including Russia. Since 1956, distribution has become technically simpler, and more active communication—both in writing and in person—has been possible. (As one by-product, *Kultura* has become a prime intelligence center.) The *Kultura* books and articles, and the ideas they express, are an active force in East Europe, and a serious problem for the Communist regimes.

A significant development began a couple of years ago. Manuscripts from Poland and then from Russia began, by clandestine routes, to arrive at *Kultura* headquarters. These are works that the writers cannot publish at home—cannot even permit anyone official to see. So *Kultura* has made itself publisher for the dissident and "revisionist" writings not merely of exiles but of the alienated writers within the Communist nations themselves. In this way a number of young Polish writers have already been published. Last year, under the pseudonym of "Abram Tertz," a remarkable short novel, *The Trial Begins*, was distributed in its original Russian, and in many translations. Two new volumes—one by "Tertz" and another under the pseudonym "I. Ivanov"—are about to appear, along with a sensational book by one of the major Polish intellectuals. Other manuscripts are already at hand.

This is by no means the whole of the *Kultura* story, but it is enough to suggest that it is a proved and major political warfare operation—indeed, there are very few in its class. Unlike that of many local anti-Communist groups, *Kultura's* qualitative and technical level is high. It is thoroughly professional in everything except its costs, which are fantastically low because these dedicated men and women do their work for next to nothing.

Kultura has accomplished much—a lot more than agencies on which our government has spent tens of millions of dollars. With its trained cadre, its tested methods, its present opportunities, it is poised to expand its operations vastly. But *Kultura* is absurdly held back by the financial anemia of which Mr. Lyons wrote.

Who Will Pay the Piper?

Most of *Kultura's* funds come from sales in the Free World and contributions by individual East European exiles. It has got a little money, now and then, from American sources. But today, with the chance to give its operations a new scope and scale—above all to make a deep penetration of the Russian intellectual elite—*Kultura* meets closed doors at government agencies and large foundations. The reasons are hard to understand, and all bad.

"The problem," Mr. Lyons wrote, is one that could best be met by private initiative." To find out whether he is correct in this judgment, I propose that a few readers of this page help finance the next period of *Kultura's* activities. I will forward checks made out to *Kultura*, in minimum amounts of five hundred dollars. If anyone wishes to make a further investigation, to communicate directly with the *Kultura* office, or to see M. Giedroyc and his associates in Europe, I will make the necessary arrangements.

Wanted: A Battle Cry

A prominent Indian journalist asks why it is the Soviet Union is winning the propaganda battle the world over—and suggests an answer for the West

PRAKASH C. JAIN

America has not rallied the world. Despite its graceful benevolence toward all peoples, despite its proud reluctance to negotiate on the basis of its overmastering military power, despite its lasting devotion to liberty and peace, America finds itself increasingly reviled, misunderstood and suspected.

But the Soviet Union speaks to ever more enthusiastic crowds all over the world, although in fact it is one of the most inhuman tyrannies, one of the most ruthless aggressors, in history.

How has this come about? Surely America has failed somehow, but in what way?

I submit that America has failed because it has not understood one perennial feature in the landscape of human personality: man's need for a battle cry. Excepting such groups of half-human brutes as the hordes of Genghis Khan, Attila and Jomo Kenyatta, I think it is true that the masses of men have always been moved by what they think are ideal —as opposed to material—motives. These motives may be at times disastrously perverted and false, but nonetheless the call to supra-human goals always seems to be necessary in order to engage the allegiance of the masses.

The victorious martyrs of the Christian Church, the thousands who left their homes to follow the Great Buddha in the paths of the beggars, the pilgrims on the Mayflower, the sixteenth-century Dutch who flooded their lands to repel the Spanish host, the thousands of Gandhi's followers who willingly entered the jails—what did these great men and women give up if it was not their comfort and their possessions, and what did they gain if it was not the joy and solace of a moral ideal triumphant?

Even when men have gathered their forces in work that leads to injury and wrong, they have explained themselves not as devils but as followers of some ideal. The Arabian conquests of half of Europe and three-fourths of Asia under the sword and sayings of the prophet Mahomet led to murder, rape and slavery—but was it not Allah to whom the Arabs turned for strength? The ragged soldiers of the French Revolution stood against the massed armies of Europe to defend a philosophic system that led to chaos, execution, hunger and depravity—but was it not their justification, even while they refuted it in deed, that they were fighting for *liberté, egalité, fraternité?*

The amazing Spanish explorers of the sixteenth century conquered whole continents, destroyed the cultures they found, enslaved the natives they had not killed, and sucked out the mineral wealth of their new colonies—but was it not all done under the inspiration, zealous but misunderstood, of *la Santa Fe Católica?* In the first World War did America fight to save itself or "to make the world safe for democracy"?

Of course America fought to save itself, but it could not succeed without an idealistic battle cry. There was no such battle cry for the Korean War, and America did not win it. There is no such battle cry in the Cold War, and America is losing it.

But Soviet Russia, right or wrong, true or perverted, has its battle cries: liberty, justice, peace. Throughout the world, in billions of messages, the Soviet Union keeps up this chant —in the drums of the jungle, the speeches in the villages, the newspapers of the world capitals. Men can be deluded into following a false ideal; but they always follow ideals.

Materialist Message?

America, to its disadvantage, has taken its message to the world in the terms of material things. Material wealth, a better and more prosperous life—these are the goals toward which America urges the world to strive with mighty efforts. Men do not make efforts for such things.

Soviet Russia points to America with scorn, says that its wealth is in the hands of a few, that the majority of people are wage-earners, that inevitably such a society exploits the poor to puff up the rich, and that capitalist societies can never enjoy true freedom, true justice, true morality, or true peace.

What then is so astonishing in the fact that a large number of men and women today regard America—the leader of world capitalism—as basically unfree, unjust, warlike and colonialist, while they regard Soviet Russia—the leader of world Communism—as the champion of the poor and oppressed, the scourge of tyrants, and the dream of a new day?

For America's arguments, which always boil down to lists of facts and inventories of things, can never prevail against the captivating slogans of Communism. America says that its free economy has enabled it to produce the greatest wealth in the world. True, say the Communists, but the reason is America's inhuman exploitation of the Latin American and Asian countries.

America says that it has benevolently sought to support and encourage the economic development of many other lands. It has done this, say the Communists, not in benevolence but in greed, to expand the dollar empire and to shore up the decadent capitalistic system.

America says it has universal franchise, free elections, democracy, and civil liberty. The Communists say this is an elaborate mummery perpetuated to hoodwink the workers into believing they are free.

America says it needs foreign bases and such military alliances as NATO and SEATO in order to defend itself. The Communists call these an unnecessary provocation to the socialist bloc—or an attempt by Wall Street profiteers to foster a war psychosis.

America says it supports the UN, has never used the veto, and pays the lion's share of the cost. The Communists say the UN is dominated by America and its allies.

Counter-Attack

When America turns from explaining itself to attacking the Communist system, it has as little success. It says that the Soviet Union and Red China pay low wages, impose agricultural collectives, employ slave labor—but the Communists ask, What is wrong with this if the ensuing increased production is available to all? And so on: What is so immoral in sacrificing the present generation to the happiness of all future peoples? What is so objectionable in state control of schools and universities if every student is assured a training suited to his ability? What is so bad in state control of the press and the movies if its sole purpose is to shelter the people from egocentric or aggressive tendencies?

In the circumstances, whatever facts America may bring in its own defense, however much it may encourage the economic development of the world's poorer areas, whatever it may do to uphold parliamentary institutions in Asia, Africa and elsewhere, however much it may respect the rights of small nations even to the point of tolerating the daily abuse and fleering of men like Castro, in many people's eyes America will continue to stand as an epitome of evil and injustice.

And Soviet Russia and Red China, irrespective of the actual political and economic conditions in those countries, irrespective of the millions of murders on their hands, irrespective of the fact that they are tyrannies unsurpassed in history, will continue to be welcomed as humanity's best hopes for justice and progress.

Although Communism is materialist, it will succeed in its propaganda as long as its idealistic slogans are allowed to go unopposed. Although America is basically idealistic, it will fail in its propaganda as long as its whole approach remains materialistic —as long, that is, as America chooses to pitch its instrument on Moscow's signal. For Moscow has a complete world-philosophy whose battle cry is freedom; whereas America has a battle cry of wealth that does not begin to express its world-philosophy.

All of America's theories, conjectures and surmises, in modern physics, modern psychology and modern sociology, seem to flow from the basic premise that man is a material, economic creature. As long as this continues, the struggle for the allegiance of the world will go to the Communists.

But this need not continue. The problem that America faces is total, but not insoluble. America must take a completely fresh approach to modern scientific and socio-psychological theories. Once these theories are reset in a spiritual framework, once the materialistic preconceptions have been expunged, America can develop an all-encompassing and relevant philosophy of man and society.

America alone seems to have the resources and scholarship and ability to bring about such a revolution in human thought. Will America do it? Much depends on luck, but much also depends on whether America will recognize, before it is too late, the full meaning of the *ideological* dynamism that has made Communism a worldwide crusade.

Choose One of Three

VICTOR GOLD

Bundy and Rostow consider it their function not to make policy but to present the President with alternatives—"to assure him multiple choice," in Bundy's phrase. . . .

Stewart Alsop in the *Saturday Evening Post*, June 10, 1961

Subject: National Security
From: McG. B.
To: J. F. K.

The following two-part question concerns Laos and Cuba. If answered correctly, it is valued at five votes in the UN General Assembly (*Choose One of Three*).

1. The Geneva Conference on Laos continues deadlocked. The President should: A) Send Lyndon Johnson back to Senegal as a diversionary tactic. B) Invite Souvanna Phouma to visit Washington on his next trip home from Moscow. C) Make another speech pledging a truly neutral Laos.

2. The Central Intelligence Agency reliably reports that Castro still controls Cuba. The President should: A) Send Lyndon Johnson to Miami for an on-the-spot report. B) Break diplomatic relations with Paraguay in a show of force. C) Make a speech pledging a truly neutral Cuba.

The following two-part question concerns nuclear disarmament. If answered correctly, it is valued at two meetings with Harold Macmillan (*Choose One of Three*).

1. The Geneva nuclear talks failed because A) The French have developed an atomic bomb. B) The Chinese Communists have not developed an atomic bomb. C) You have not made a speech lately pledging truly neutral inspection teams.

2. If your answer to the above question is A) or (C), the President should: A) Demand that the French cease nuclear testing. B) Send Lyndon Johnson to Los Alamos in a show of force. C) Make the speech.

So Shall Ye Be Judged

What happened when a conservative publisher found himself in the court of a Liberal judge his papers had often attacked

HOLMES ALEXANDER and
WM. F. RICKENBACKER

Since 1946, William Loeb has been publisher of the Manchester (N.H.) *Union Leader*, which has prospered under an editorial policy that is not only conservative but also witheringly direct and honest. William Loeb fears not the mighty, not even when the mighty happens to be a Federal Judge on the First Circuit Court.

Back in 1950, Loeb blasted the Dover Group, a collection of prominent Bostonians including Charles Wyzanski, advocating the settlement of the Korean War on the Communists' terms. Not long afterwards, Loeb attacked Wyzanski for acting as a character witness for Alger Hiss. In late 1956 and early 1957, Loeb severely criticized Wyzanski, as Chairman of the Board of Overseers of Harvard, for permitting J. Robert Oppenheimer to give the William James lectures. And about the same time, Loeb hit Wyzanski again, for running the same act on a different stage: for Oppenheimer spoke at Exeter, of which Wyzanski was then a trustee.

In the autumn of 1957, Loeb was approached with the proposal that he found a competing newspaper in Haverhill, Massachusetts. In the course of time he did establish the paper, but he ran into the organized opposition of 32 New England newspaper barons, who banded together to run him out of Haverhill. Loeb filed an anti-trust suit. A counter-suit under the anti-trust laws was filed against him. Before long (March, 1959) Loeb found himself in court, facing his old friend, Judge Charles Wyzanski.

Wyzanski offered to disqualify himself, saying, "I know there has been some Manchester newspaper which has been in the business of attacking me from time to time, and I don't know whether it is the plaintiff or not. I am quite immune from any bias with respect to it because I don't even read this stuff, but I think I ought to say to you that I know that somebody has been doing it, and maybe it is this plaintiff. If this plaintiff regards me as in any way biased, I wish the plaintiff would say so." (Point in rhetoric: is a man unbiased if he refers to material he hasn't read as "this stuff"?)

Acting with the innate chivalry that is a root of his nature, Loeb grandly declined the judge's offer. The case then proceeded, Wyzanski presiding, until late in 1960. At that point Wyzanski, in connection with another case, undertook a one-man investigation of Massachusetts politics. Issuing regular as well as criminal subpoenas, Wyzanski finally caught a big fish: William Callahan, a chairman of the State Throughway Authority. While Wyzanski was off hunting for evidence of corruption, Loeb's reportorial staff was reminded of an earlier connection between Judge Wyzanski and his present quarry. After considerable research they turned up a story that made banner headlines.

Earlier History

Some years earlier, while Callahan had been chairman of the Department of Public Works, the state had seized, exercising the right of eminent domain, some property belonging to Wyzanski and his family. Callahan had got up a board of appraisers and had ruled that landowners could refuse the offer made by the appraisers only by going to court. In practice, anyone actually prepared to go to court received a settlement of about a thousand dollars more than the original appraiser's amount, to avoid the cost of litigation. But there was an exception.

Wyzanski, it appears, complained vociferously that the appraisers hadn't offered him enough. A trial date was set, but then before trial, Wyzanski received a settlement of *many* thousands of dollars more than the original price. Loeb's reporters could find no other case of a large out-of-court settlement. After the story hit the wire service, Wyzanski flew into court and filed with the clerk a detailed memorandum on his land dealings with the man he had recently subpoenaed. The case hallooed across the headlines in Boston, and Loeb's paper, of course, ran a whole series of articles on the situation.

By April of 1961, the odor from Wyzanski's court had reached Washington. Majority Leader John McCormack of Massachusetts entered the discussion of federal judgeships with an interesting anecdote about Wyzanski. "It happens," said McCormack, "that I have a nephew who is attorney general of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Not so long ago, a federal judge in Boston threatened him with contempt of court in the performance of his official duties. . . . I am going to confine myself to this issue alone," said McCormack, "even though there are other instances of Wyzanski's highhandedness. Here is a copy of the *Boston Globe* of October 19, 1960. It was only two weeks before the election—a poor time for any judge to inject himself into the issues of a political campaign—whether he be a Republican or a Democrat. At that time, my nephew was protecting the interests of the cities and towns of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This particular judge misconstrued a statement by my nephew and this judge from the bench publicly stated that he might adjudge the attorney general of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in contempt of court—or words to that effect.

"The judge even went further than that. He even stated from the bench,

and I will quote the words directly from the newspaper: 'I am not myself quite aware why the Attorney General of the United States chose to further the ambitions of the attorney general of Massachusetts who is a Democrat.' Can you imagine that? What happened? My nephew and a few other attorneys general representing the attorneys general of the United States some months prior to that had a conference with Assistant Attorney General Bicks. . . . Now let me go a little step further and I will quote from this newspaper article again: 'Any statements issued about this case were no doubt given out for political purposes and whoever issued such a statement may well be in contempt of court.' This is not an isolated case I am talking about."

Judge as Politician

Congressman Burke exploded in sympathetic detonation, and described his own victimization at His Honor's hand. "He not only injected himself into the affairs of the attorney general of Massachusetts," said Burke, "but he also injected himself in the congressional fight in my district, tried to smear my good reputation, and made remarks uncalled for, subjected me to a vitriolic attack, an unfair attack that I could not answer. . . . This particular judge, time and time again, has threatened attorneys and members of the Massachusetts bar who had the courage to appear before his court, has threatened them with citations of contempt, has impugned their motives, has besmirched their integrity and honesty; and he has developed such a condition that I would say 85 per cent of the attorneys, members of the Massachusetts bar, are fearful to appear in his court. . . . When a judge orders the issuance of a criminal summons four days before an election, when all the circumstances called for was the issuance of a regular witness summons, and tries to create the impression in the minds of the people of a Congressman's district that the Congressman was a defendant and not a witness, I say that he has abused his authority, he has violated civil rights, he has violated every decent principle that we can have in our courts; he has violated the code of decency of the court. . . . I question his activities that day; the remarks he made from the bench were entirely uncalled for. If ever a judge was subject to censure it was this particular judge, because he abused all the privileges of his position, all the authority vested in him by the U.S. Government when he tried to inject himself into that congressional fight. . . . This judge has acted in the role of a politician trying to influence the electorate by his intemperate and unfair statements from the bench. His activities on the bench are certainly open to question. The federal

bench is no place for a tyrant or a despot. He is ill mannered, discourteous, uncivil, rude, injudicious, and overbearing. He lacks balance."

Emmanuel Celler, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, testified as a character witness in reverse: "Often the overrighteous can do much evil. This particular judge is overly righteous. He is bold, he is brilliant, but most arbitrary. He thinks he is the be-all and end-all of wisdom. His views cannot be questioned. He is sort of a judicial panjandrum and, therefore, never hesitates to act as judge, prosecutor, and jury, all rolled into one. In a trice, he will on occasion convert his court into a U.S. attorney's office, or something not unlike a grand jury. Numerous complaints have reached me as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary concerning this judge's unusual and untoward conduct."

And Celler quoted from a decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals in Boston—a decision that amounts to a formal accusation of misconduct on the part of Judge Wyzanski: "Naturally witnesses can and should be required to explain the words they use. It is hardly necessary, however, to do so with ridicule or caustic criticism, or repeatedly to check a witness' use of words in reasonably common use by reference to the Oxford English Dictionary, or to require strict adherence to the rules of grammar. The bench is not an appropriate rostrum from which to teach the niceties of English grammar and usage. . . . While performance by the trial judge of his function, indeed duty, to see that the truth is elicited ordinarily requires clarifying questions from the bench, and maybe on occasion sharp warnings, it is not his function or duty to take the conduct of a case away from counsel."

After being visited with so voluminous a barrage in the *Congressional Record*, Wyzanski came off his high horse—but just for a moment. He asked Attorney General McCormack, the Majority Leader's nephew, to attend a public hearing concerning some asphalt companies. At the hearing, Wyzanski actually apologized to McCormack for having threatened him with contempt of court. He also said that in view of the hullaballoo (our word: it's not in the Judge's O.E.D.) about the asphalt case, he would withdraw from it. But then he went on to express himself in pointed terms about the case of William Loeb from which he announced he would not withdraw.

Loeb's attorneys made a formal motion proposing that Wyzanski withdraw. Wyzanski refused. They went to the Court of Appeals, but the court upheld Wyzanski, principally on the grounds that he only sounded prejudiced, but wasn't, really. At this moment Loeb is trying to get a stay of process from one of the justices of the Supreme Court.

So here is the great big Liberal, Charles Wyzanski, conducting his court with a highhandedness which, if it had been Senator McCarthy doing it in his committee room, would have caused Wyzanski to turn off all the lights of Harvard and say: We've had it, and quietly expire. On top of that, he is determined to judge the man who has now completely exasperated him. "It is just as well that justice is blind," said Emmanuel Celler in his resumé, "she might not like some of the things done in her name by Judge Wyzanski."

Special Report

A Peace Corps in Reverse?

DAVID N. ROWE

The Peace Corps, reputedly a pet project of President Kennedy's inner circle adviser Walt W. Rostow, plans to send considerable numbers of American teachers, technicians, etc., to work in foreign countries during the next several years. These individuals, recruited from the ranks of recent graduates, will be briefly trained in the United States in the language and cultural background of the host nation. Once abroad, they will be required to live and work as close to the level of the local population as possible, although just how this will be done in each area has yet to be seen. This scheme, depend on it, will cost a great deal of money.

The hoped-for results of the Peace Corps could be achieved at much less expense and with far greater efficiency by other means. For the talent is available in the persons of the many foreign students who have been brought here since the war to be trained in just the skills and techniques the Peace Corps is meant to provide. There are literally thousands of these trainees here. Only a few have returned home at the conclusion of their course of study to help their countries achieve cultural, economic and political advances.

Foreign Students Stay Here

To understand what this means to their countries of origin we must remember that the students who have come here from Asia and, with increasing frequency today, from Africa, are the intellectual cream of their societies. Competition for education is very sharp, the academic discipline in many Asian countries very severe, and the graduates, whatever the character of their curricula, do represent the very highest levels of qualifications available.

It is usually the ambition of the overwhelming majority of these graduates to go abroad for further study. So by allowing most of these trainees to stay here we are depriving their countries of their best intellectual resources. Asian students are naturally attracted by the high standard of living in the United States. In addition, they have found that they can successfully compete with Americans for jobs. American research and educational institutions, hospitals, business and technical enterprises are glad to employ them. With the aid of friendly and interested Americans these foreign students are able to circumvent laws which require their return home. This is not too difficult. The student may simply not conclude his study program. He will, for example, encounter "delays" in completing a dissertation. Time limits for completion of graduate work are not enforced in many graduate schools. Some students enlist the sympathy and assistance of their professors, many of whom are anxious to keep them on as research workers.

The student from abroad can also marry an American girl, and thus place a real obstruction against the rules requiring his departure. His position is still stronger if he has a child born in this country who under our laws is entitled to American citizenship. Other students, less in demand in the professions, simply go "underground," taking jobs as waiters, photo laboratory workers, etc., in large cities.

Much of the financial support of these students is provided by the United States Government and by private and public American foundations and agencies, with the object of helping to train an intellectual, cultural, economic and technical elite for poorer nations. Instead of seeing to it that these trained young men and women are in fact returned to our friends and allies abroad, we allow them to remain.

On a recent trip to Asia I found American cultural workers there keenly aware of this problem. How could they help get the student from Asia to return home? Most of them urged sharp curtailment of recruitment and support of Asian students for study in America if a clear answer to that question is not forthcoming.

In face of this, the proposed Peace Corps of young Americans appears to many abroad as a laughable and totally inadequate expedient. Why teach a few Americans a little of some difficult language, and give them a smattering of knowledge of a particular local culture, when we have here in the United States available for such work thousands of natives of those countries who are (whether our bureaucrats know it or not) thoroughly conversant in their own languages and cultures.

Restitution

Part of the money we are now planning to spent on the Peace Corps should be used to send home foreign students we have trained; we could help provide them with better job opportunities, and perhaps even contribute something to their immediate local environment so that they will better readjust to the change.

The United States Government has invested large sums in training Asians here. It is preparing to spend more, and is being pressed to do so. But if the practices of the immediate past are to be followed still further, this will only result in great loss to the countries we are attempting to help.

It is high time we stopped raiding the intellectual resources of our friends and allies. We should begin to make restitution, by returning every possible trainee or ex-trainee now in this country who has either completed his training or has been here a certain specified length of time. We might decide to accept from any given country each year only as many new trainees as there are students from that country who have returned from the United States during the previous year. But to do this, we must tighten the enforcement of regulations now on the books, and add such new rules as the situation may require.

We can thus put an end to the Peace Corps in reverse that foreign student trainees in this country now constitute.

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Multiple Shops

Anyone who has travelled frequently in Britain since the war must be aware of an economic and social phenomenon: the steady decline in the number of small and varied shops, and the proportionate growth of vast standardized commercial chains, which the British call "multiple shops." If ever the English were a nation of shopkeepers, now they are becoming, at best, a nation of multiple-shop managers. The consequences of this are distressing.

Kirk

For one thing, the coming of the big chain-shop usually has most unpleasant architectural results in the old towns. At Bristol, the finest square or market place in the city—the Horsefair, where John Wesley lived and had a chapel—was demolished a few years ago, though untouched during the war, to provide space for Marks and Spencer, Woolworth, and the other gigantic chain stores. In old York, whole rows and even streets of interesting medieval buildings have been giving way, for the past five or six years, to multiple stores that run through a block—British Union Stores, and the rest. In Oxford, the Clarendon Hotel has been pulled down to make way for Woolworth's; and Woolworth has destroyed the handsome old Red Lion Hotel, at the top of the fine High Street of Guildford.

Such crimes against the charm and dignity of old towns confront the traveler in every considerable place in England or Scotland; and now the multiple shops are moving into what few relative sanctuaries remain, like the university town of St. Andrews. The lanes of the Petty Curry in Cambridge are being swept away for the sake of chain-store buildings. "The owners of these big concerns," says a York clergyman, with some bitterness, "are going to have much to answer for."

Who, for that matter, *are* the owners? As local businesses and industries decline, so, of course, does the old-fashioned man of property, who gave leadership to his town, and sometimes beautified it by his benefactions. The manager of the local branch of the multiple shop—who, too often, is not even a local man—has neither the power nor the will to take up the role of yesteryear's local merchant. The owner is hydra-headed, an impersonal corporation. Within such a corporation, sometimes, are executives of conscience, ability, and taste; yet their primary concern must be the immediate profit of a commercial enterprise, and not the long-run effects of their policies upon the stability and beauty of a community.

Retreat Inevitable?

As matters are going, retail trade conceivably may come down to enormous impersonal department stores like the emporium described in Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, or like the dreary central stores of Soviet Russia. In name, this business still will be private; but in reality, it will be as monotonous and ugly as any socialist scheme. The only fairly successful rivals of the multiple shops, for that matter, are the socialists' cooperative societies, whose stores outdo even the big "private" chains in hideousness and shabby service.

Now although most people speak, with a sigh, of the "inevitable" retreat of small-scale enterprise before the titans of commerce and industry, as a matter of fact this collectivizing of the economy (under whatever label) still may be arrested. In retail trade, especially, the multiple shops enjoy few natural advantages over local small shops. It is true enough that by immense wholesale orders, chain stores may obtain a manufacturer's discount bigger than that which the small shops can hope for. Yet the advantages of small overhead, direct interest of the proprietor, and adaptability to local conditions all lie with the local firm. Why, then, have the little shops gone to the wall?

Well, in Britain, as in America, the decline of small enterprise has several causes, two of which are conspicuous: taxation, especially death duties or inheritance tax; and the pressure of national labor unions. "Progressive" income tax makes it extremely difficult, at best, to build up a new small or local business out of personal savings; while British death duties, or American inheritance taxes, make it almost impossible to pass on a successful family business, or private proprietorship, to one's heirs. The family business has to be converted into a corporation, or—more commonly—sold to some big existing corporation, so that money can be raised for the death duties. Then, too, money which under other circumstances would be invested in stable local enterprises now tends to flow into big investment-trusts and speculative schemes. (In Britain, the savage surtax upon "unearned" income makes this tendency even more powerful than in America.) So despite mutterings by government about the monopolistic proclivities of business and industry, really the chief promoter of bigness in business is government itself, with its heavy-handed tax policies.

The big unions, too, push the small entrepreneur toward the brink of ruin. A single prolonged strike can ruin a local merchant, and, already discouraged, he may shrug his shoulders and sell out, for little enough, to a multiple-shop competitor—lest the bankruptcy court swallow him.

Collectivism is not the less disagreeable because it retains the label "capitalism." Probably nothing will save variety in commerce, and local character, but a sweeping revision of the tax-structure, and the applying of anti-trust laws to labor unions. The alternative is a dull vista of nasty, pretentious big stores selling dreary wares.

Nuclear War and the Moral Law

L. BRENT BOZELL

A professor of religion at Princeton, a Protestant moral theologian, Dr. Paul Ramsey has boned up on the technical and strategic facts of life about modern war; and so equipped to talk to the war gamesmen in their own idiom, asks them to sit down at *his* table. That the dialogue fails to develop as we might have hoped (this reviewer deems the professor's theological conclusions dead wrong at the critical point and a certain recipe for catastrophe) does not detract from his main accomplishment: the reminder that war theory is a function of moral theory, not the other way 'round; and the demonstration that America's increasing helplessness in world affairs is traceable in large part to our having concerned ourselves for fifteen years with what we *can* do to the enemy without ever asking, What *should* we do?

War and the Christian Conscience is not a book about the morality of war, but of *warfare*. Paul Ramsey is too respectful of the Christian tradition to take generic pacifism seriously, and too occupied with legitimate moral questions to argue—more than is necessary to show them the back of his hand—with the modern nuclear pacifists who urge capitulation as the alternative to "destroying mankind." Rather, Dr. Ramsey takes his stand with the theory of the "just war," and asks us to consider the kind of warfare moral theologians have traditionally deemed permissible.

War and the Christian Conscience, by Paul Ramsey. Duke, $6.00

Quite correctly, Ramsey finds that "non-combatants" on both sides have traditionally been held "immune" from "direct attack." He adds, however—by a reasoning we shall examine more closely in a moment—that such immunity is *absolute:* ". . . any act of war is intrinsically immoral which directly and intentionally attacks persons other than those directly or closely cooperating in the force that should be repelled." Therefore, "counter-force" warfare is permissible (even with small nuclear weapons); but "counter-society" warfare is not. The difference is that the killing of civilians in the former case is an *unintended, indirect* effect of legitimate attack on military targets, while in the latter, *e.g.*, the obliteration bombing of World War II, non-combatants are the direct, and necessarily the intended, objects of the attack.

To the objection that in modern war nearly everyone "participates in the war effort," and thus that the concept of non-combatancy has become meaningless, Ramsey replied: wars have always consisted in the activities of those who support the war as well as those who wage it; the modern development is not that all civilians now "wage" war, but that "all of them are its targets." To the further objection that it is impossible to "draw the line" between the two categories, he answers in effect: "I don't have to do that to know that the vast majority of the inhabitants of New York or Moscow are not 'fighters' in the traditional sense, and that a hydrogen bomb exploded over such a metropolitan center is not primarily aimed at an enemy's armed forces." In applying this formula to modern weaponry, Ramsey avoids rigid classifications, but suggests that "lower range" kiloton weapons probably mark the upper moral limit. In any event—and this is the book's main practical finding—America is morally obliged to renounce multimegaton bombs, which are weapons of mass destruction by their "very nature," and to start removing them from her stockpiles.

How, then, can America hope to maintain a "deterrent" against enemy attack? The fact of the matter, Ramsey answers in his best-reasoned pages, is that hydrogen bombs do not *now* give us a reliable deterrent. Ramsey adopts Herman Kahn's thesis that deterrence is presently infeasible (an enemy would not believe that our leaders would consider thermonuclear war an appropriate response to such challenges as he might make), but disputes Kahn's contention that hydrogen war can be *made* feasible. While Kahn may be correct in thinking that the destructiveness of H-bomb war can be limited to the extent that a bombed-out nation will regard the war as having been "worth it," the relevant question, which Ramsey answers negatively, is whether our leaders can ever be expected to make that choice in advance. Therefore, what we are left with in any case—whether we have H-bombs or don't—is the hope that "counter-force" warfare can "objectively" (as opposed to psychologically) block an enemy attack. Thus hoping, Americans must "resolve" never to "yield to blackmail"—*i.e.*, they must be ready to go down fighting with their truncated arsenal rather than buckle under enemy threats, and so obeying the moral law, "walk humbly with their God."

THESE brave sentiments, however, are not stated as candidly as they might be; either that, or Dr. Ramsey has not thought his recommendations through. Suppose Khrushchev advises Kennedy that he will take out Chicago on Monday, New York and Philadelphia on Tuesday, and so on until the U.S. capitulates; and meanwhile that any signs of a U.S. attack on his striking force will be a death warrant for a list of twenty American cities. Suppose also that Soviet bases are sufficiently "hardened" or

dispersed to guarantee Khrushchev's ability to carry out that second threat. Kennedy has no H-bombs, and anyway is publicly committed and privately determined never to hit Soviet cities. Of course Kennedy *must* surrender: Soviet victory is assured in any case, and the sacrifice of several million American lives would be a futile and therefore immoral gesture.

Query: Is it likely that God has written provisions into the moral law that require the extinction of Christian civilization? Or has Dr. Ramsey written an emphasis into the doctrine of non-combatant immunity that neither Christian tradition nor right reason recognizes? Ramsey's argument is primarily formalistic: True, he says, just war theory requires a balancing of the good and evil effects of alternative courses of action, but *not until* absolutely immoral means have been ruled out *a priori;* the killing of non-combatants is such a means because it violates the "love-command"; therefore the "calculation of effects" must proceed on the premise that *no* effect can be good enough to justify this means.

In support of this argument, Ramsey makes copious reference to St. Augustine and St. Thomas, traces the historical development of the principle of "double effect," alludes to the embellishments of post-Middle Ages casuistry. He does so, we must add, in vain. For nowhere does he establish authority for the middle term of his syllogism—namely, the contention that "direct" killing of non-combatants in war is the same thing as "direct" killing in private affairs, and therefore an *intrinsically* immoral act. Augustine never equated the two situations. Thomas clearly recognized the distinction. The later doctors, in developing just war theory, condemned non-combatant killing as barbaric and wantonly cruel—not because, as Dr. Ramsey maintains, non-combatants were formally excluded from the concept of "the unjust aggressor," but *because it was barbaric and wantonly cruel.*

Occasionally, Dr. Ramsey seems to sense his error and permits the question (an irrelevant one under his formal argument): What good effects of a modern war could conceivably outweigh the evil of killing millions of non-combatants? But asking the question is as far as he goes, and here we arrive at the truly astonishing thing about this book: not a word of it is concerned with how a Christian conscience ought to evaluate the consequence of a Soviet triumph. The problem is dismissed by the observation that Christians cannot "discriminate" as certainly "between social orders" as between good and bad means of warfare. Now such diffidence as to the moral issues at stake between nations might have been warranted during, say, the Franco-Prussian War, but in the present contest, and from the mouth of a spokesman for Christianity, it approaches scandal. The point, among others, that Ramsey misses is that a Soviet triumph would destroy Christian civilization and thus the very basis for the rules of warfare he invokes; and would end the opportunity of leading a Christian life for all of the people his doctrine of non-combatant immunity had kept alive.

This is not to deny the special protection Christian teaching accords non-combatants. I think Ramsey is right in condemning the saturation bombing of the last war; among other things, it was not necessary for the "just" side's victory. He is certainly right in observing that our present weapons system was not put together with the idea of assuring a morally (or politically) appropriate response to enemy challenges—that, as Thomas Murray put it, our "technological tail has been flying [our] policy kite."

The result is that we are often, for technological reasons, confronted with the apparent choice between accepting political defeats or avoiding them by means that are morally and politically out of proportion to the objective at hand. Thus, the pressing need today to develop a rounded arsenal of controlled weapons—*e.g.,* the neutron bomb. But in addition, we must keep our "ultimate" weapons *and be disposed to use them with good conscience* (this is the answer to Kahn) if this becomes the only way to save the Christian West.

Toulouse-Lautrec: Fact and Fancy

GUY DAVENPORT

While his noble father shot owls from a tower and a nun prayed at the foot of his bed, a dwarf lay dying in 1901. His last words were about his father, "the old fool!" A critic who came forward after the funeral to propose that he write the dwarf's life was challenged to a duel by the father. The family was enjoined to forget their kinsman who had been kept by destiny from the hunt and the ballroom and who had left the world 600 paintings, 300 lithographs, and countless drawings of Parisian life, of dancers, prostitutes, and singers. It would have seemed to them grotesque and infuriating for the ancient family of Toulouse-Lautrec to know that its scion Henri, tubercular, syphilitic, drunkard, arrested in growth at a child's height, would be known as a master painter. The ironic implications of this theme provide the tone for Henri Perruchot's new biography, the first volume of a trilogy to be called *Art and Destiny: Toulouse-Lautrec, Cezanne, Manet.*

Toulouse-Lautrec, by Henri Perruchot, translated by Humphrey Hare. World, $6.00

The nineteenth century is an image in paint, as the century before exists in the copper engraving and ours in photography. The realist preoccupations of the century took a special form in Toulouse-Lautrec. If he is the visual counterpart of Zola and de Maupassant, he is also a student of Goya and Hokusai. His satire, like Goya's and Hogarth's, has compassionate roots. No romantic world fooled his sense of reality. Puvis de Chavannes, his contemporary and a "classicist" whose murals were pure enough even for the Boston Public Library, he parodied in a large canvas of pastoral vapidity and signed Pubis de Cheval.

Hollywood has made an image of Toulouse-Lautrec that is as sentimental a fraud as could have been expected: the unconscious artist whose art "is his way of expressing himself." His art is instantaneous, dashed off in between times. This fraud is cousin to Hollywood's good prostitute for whom instantaneous

virtue is as accessible as instantaneous art to quaint, spontaneous artists. The best notation one can make of M. Perruchot's biography is that it scrubs away Hollywood's Toulouse-Lautrec and exposes a laboring, conscious artist whose manner of "expressing himself" is apt to take the

form of dining on kangaroo, and whose personal views on prostitution are that it is irredeemably ugly and vicious.

We have in this biography a diligent organization of facts cautiously reported. Every detail stands lucid in a quiet, dry verbal texture; we could not ask for tidier scholarship. Yet its subject remains stubbornly opaque. Unlike Van Gogh, his friend, he was no letter writer; and he completed one sentence of a book he projected. Quotations are therefore rare (and likely obscene) and when the voice of Toulouse-Lautrec finds a chink in the biographer's hard surface of fact we feel the sharpness of its authenticity. "Nature has betrayed me," he replied to a remark about his indifference to landscape and still life. He thought of himself as "a moral suicide." His favorite word was "technique."

The fine collection of hitherto unpublished photographs provides another advantage for knowing the man Lautrec. Obsessed by his comic ugliness, he liked being photographed; the first close-up in photography is of his face. The publishers have been willing to print Toulouse-Lautrec's own photographs of brothel scenes, a confirmation of his perception of their moral ugliness.

M. Perruchot says (page 150) that Toulouse-Lautrec was "a spectator who stood outside morals." It would be more accurate to say that he left moral statements to others and took the world's morale to study: the weariness of vice, sordidness, poverty, but most of all vanity. His great subjects are art and play, the exultant activities. A cripple, he drew legs with loving envy. He drew energy. His accurate record of prostitutes is an honest extension of the task he set himself, to paint a human comedy. He had not a trace of sentimentality in him. He painted intelligently, allowing all that was implicit in his subject to become eloquent through clarity alone. "Van Gogh was all charity; Lautrec all lucidity."

Biographies of painters are notorious strongholds of romanticism and the fictioneers have had their way with the world and the figure that M. Perruchot inspects with factual clarity. Ostentatiously free of melodramatics, M. Perruchot proceeds with compassion and inescapable nostalgia into the world of Zola and Jane Avril to construct a book that sticks to establishing a sequence of facts.

Biography, a severe art crucial to civilization, would seem to have a perfectly clear objective, to record an interesting life. Yet biographies are peculiarly vulnerable to every failure of the writer's and scholar's craft. There is the problem of keeping imagination and fact in perfect relation, of keeping to the obvious business of biography while that very business itches to ape fiction, to rise to eulogy, or, as usually happens, take the guise of another literary form: novel, homily, diatribe. M. Perruchot constructs his book quite fittingly as if it were a novel by Zola. His Toulouse-Lautrec is a genius ravaged by inexplicable forces (presumably by Society and Ambition). Realism has no particular theory to explain such a life, and the biography, despite the word "destiny" in the title, assumes the shape and scrupulous organization of a case history. The details of Toulouse-Lautrec's life away from his easel can usually be counted on to make good anecdotes and to be staged with ironic postures, so the biography succeeds as a record.

The reader is left to know the pictures for himself; the biography's purpose is modestly to supplement that knowledge. Some day a better life will be written which chooses not to detach biography from a critical study of the subject's work. But M. Perruchot can give one new eyes and even new cause for returning to the paintings. His book is valuable for that alone; and as a clear account of Toulouse-Lautrec's world, a world including Van Gogh, Yvette Guilbert, Degas, and Loïë Fuller, it is also to be recommended.

Caprice or the System?

WALTER DARNELL JACOBS

WHEN Khrushchev opened the "anti-Stalin" campaign in 1956 some of our Kremlinologists had a small debate among themselves. They were asking if Stalin and the cult of the individual resulted from the nature of the system or if the entire period from 1925 to 1953 was just one of history's caprices. (Bertram Wolfe showed that Stalin was the system, and *vice versa*—and even Togliatti agreed with him for a spell.)

Whatever the facts of that disputation, there can be no doubt about Khrushchev. He is a product of the system as a mule is the product of an ass and a mare. Our Kremlinologists now accept the fact and have gone to work to describe the sort of man the system has produced.

Kremlinology is a sort of gnostic "science" in which minutiae from the Kremlin court are studied under the microscopes of modern sociology and other behaviorial sciences. The object of this exertion is to predict who is going up and who is coming down on the Soviet elevator. A practicing Kremlinologist had divined that Beria was in trouble because he missed a

Khrushchev: A Political Portrait, by Konrad Kellen. Praeger, $5.00
Power and Policy in the U.S.S.R., by Robert Conquest. St. Martin's Press, $7.95
The Grand Tactician: Khrushchev's Rise to Power, by Lazar Pistrak. Praeger, $6.00
The Red Phoenix: Russia Since World War II, by Harry Schwartz. Praeger, $6.00; $1.95 paper

performance at the ballet. Another traced the rise of Khrushchev by the presence or absence of capitalization in titles. The originator of the "science" was the late Franz Borkenau. Today it is practiced widely in Western scholarly journals and even in the State Department where "Chip" Bohlen is the coryphaeus. But no Kremlinologist surpasses Robert Conquest in attention to the trivial or pursuit of the minuscule.

CONQUEST is a poet and, one assumes, Kremlinology is just a diversion for him. In a sense, that is a pity, for he writes well and his investigations are several notches higher in sustained interest than the efforts of some of the more pompous Soviet "experts." Conquest's chief thesis is that Stalin was preparing for war in 1953 and that he was getting ready just as he had in the thirties—by carrying out a blood purge. The prospective purgees, including Khrushchev, got on to what was afoot and did the old man in. Then they did Beria in. And it would have gone on and on but for the fact that no one could grab enough personal power. A sort of balance of terror resulted. Khrushchev rose to the top precisely because he was a system man and, as such, was not too closely connected to any single source of power (party, government, army, secret police, etc.). Conquest believes that Khrushchev's personal power is still somewhat shaky. If he were solid, Conquest argues, there would be a lot more corpses in Red Square.

Now it gets interesting. Khrushchev's trial by fire will come at the Twenty-Second Congress of the party in October. He can turn it into a "Victor's Congress" or he can see himself thrown onto the garbage heap of history. As a good Kremlinologist, Conquest can claim prescience in either event. He states clearly, however, that either outcome is likely to be followed by a blood purge. The only question is whether Khrushchev will be purger or purgee.

The Kellen and Pistrak studies are somewhat less exciting but considerably more informative than the Conquest book. They trace the career of *apparatchik* Khrushchev from Kalinovka to the Kremlin.

Kellen shows the complete absurdity and naiveté of Harold Macmillan's remark to Khrushchev, "I simply do not understand what your purpose is today." To Kellen, his purpose is obvious. (But I suspect that even Kellen might have some difficulty in understanding Macmillan's purpose today—or in 1959 when he endured Khrushchev's insults without a whimper.)

Pistrak covers much the same ground as does Kellen. Pistrak seems

to have a very thorough knowledge of Soviet sources and is not afraid to utilize émigré sources. In fact, one of the most interesting and enlightening parts of the Pistrak book is the discussion of a Bukharin interview which appeared in the New York *Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik*.

Both Kellen and Pistrak realize that the Bukharin (that is, the "right-wing") "deviation" is more dangerous to the Soviet leaders than is the Trotsky heresy. The Trotskyites can always be outbid with ease and the natural trend of the party is in the leftist direction. To outbid the Bukharinites, however, the party must move in an unnatural direction. This it can certainly do on a tactical basis, but Stalin and Khrushchev have demonstrated that they recognize the greater danger. Trotskyism appeals only to the apparatus intellectual and the party paragon. Bukharinism appeals to the ill-used mass. A triumphant Bukharinism would be a step away from socialism and the "revolution" (or a betrayal of the revolution, in the Communist phrase) while Trotskyism triumphant would not differ in essence from Stalinism or Khrushchevism. Kellen and Pistrak show that Stalin, with Khrushchev's eager help, fought Trotsky, not Trotskyism, and Bukharinism, not Bukharin. The system, of course, operated so that both Trotsky and Bukharin were physically liquidated.

It is striking and inexplicable that Pistrak and Kellen devote so little space to two supremely important events in Khrushchev's political life—his grinding down of the Hungarian revolution and his state visit to the U.S. Whatever his earlier career, and it was most unsavory, as both authors clearly demonstrate, Khrushchev's character was certainly stamped for all time in the streets of Budapest. To a lesser extent, it was stamped in the halls of the National Press Club. The strenuous efforts which President Kennedy must make in an attempt to convince Khrushchev of America's willingness to fight are complicated not so much by Menshikov's mouthings as by Khrushchev's memories of the past—and, in particular, of the American reaction to Budapest and to his insulting tour of this country after Budapest.

Harry Schwartz, the *New York Times'* resident Kremlinologist, pays considerable attention to the Hungarian revolution and has a trenchant article about Nikita in the states. Still, his is a book with which the reader can never quite feel comfortable. First of all, it is simply a collection of old *Times* articles; and the only original material is a series of connecting remarks, an introductory chapter, and a few paragraphs of conclusions. The real uneasiness which the book causes, however, springs from deeper sources. Schwartz is unable to overcome a tendency to gawk at Soviet "achievements." He believes that the Soviet challenge can be met by a sense of national purpose, a concern about our growth rate, etc. Schwartz refuses to follow where his data lead him. He can see the problem in the real world but can react only in the dream world. Still, he must be given credit for taking a non-Bowles attitude on Cuba and for the grudging remark that "defeat for the United States in the world struggle is not yet a foregone conclusion." The *Times* has not yet surrendered. But who can agree, after Hungary, after Laos, and after Berlin, that the main struggle has shifted from "the military sphere to the areas of political, economic, and propaganda competition"? It would seem to be about time to realize that the Communist comes not with an idea, a ruble or a poster, but with a gun.

This spate of books on Communism is characterized by a diversity of approaches. The unity in the diversity is the message that Communism and life under Communism is an intellectual and emotional horror. It is a simple message that all non-Communists acknowledge. Or do they?

Science Fiction

A Function for Fable

THEODORE STURGEON

SCIENCE FICTION (sf hereinafter) is unique among literary genres in the extent to which it is tarred by its own worst examples. Readers who readily discriminate between Ngaio Marsh and Mickey Spillane, between the likes of *Shane* and Hopalong Cassidy, between Hemingway's fisherman and Wylie's Crunch and Des, seem only too willing to wrap up all of sf in a brightly colored funny-paper and consign it to Hollywood where it is used to breed giant ants. Yet sf comes in many varieties —so many that even the kind of people who go each year to the World SF Convention cannot agree on a definition. It is certainly true that 90 per cent of sf is unadulterated crud. It is overlooked, however, that to the purist *everything* is 90 per cent crud, be it ball-teams or book reviews, cars, cats or congressmen. Sf's special situation is that its virtuous tithe is overlooked, its rave reviews—one paragraph long—buried on p. 43 between kiddie books and dog stories.

Triangle, by Isaac Asimov. Doubleday. $4.95

The Best from Fantasy and Science Fiction, Tenth Series. Robert P. Mills, ed. Doubleday, $3.95

Three Hearts and Three Lions, by Poul Anderson. Doubleday, $2.95

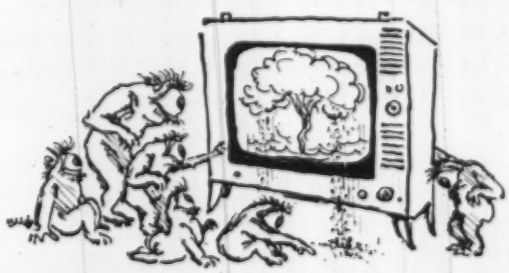
Time is the Simplest Thing, by Clifford Simak. Doubleday, $3.95

There is a reason for this, and it probably lies in the fact that we are a science-worshipping culture which tells reverse-the-reverence jokes about psychiatrists and space-shots, as Boccaccio did about monks and nuns. Therefore it makes one namelessly uneasy to be faced with an example of unadulterated crud with a Science label on it. It is a subliminal sacrilege, so the public buys its sf wholesale only from non-sf writers like Nevil Shute, with an innocence as sanguine as that of Molière's Amateur Gentleman. Which is a pity, because it thereby denies itself a species of literature of strength and scope, the best of which affords a proving-ground for ethical and sociological concepts new and old, along with rattling-good, or provocative, or brilliant, or even beautiful *story*. It may be a comfort to reflect that sf is a misnomer anyway; it would be more accurate to call it speculative fiction, or even adult fantasy. Its best examples are certainly capable of holding their own in the area of serious literary criticism, and they certainly should get it—as indeed they did in the days of Jules Verne and H. G. Wells, whose work was written and received as "romance" —the contemporary term for any mainstream novelistics.

A glance at four recent books will give a hint of this scope and content. Isaac Asimov, a biochemist whose Ph.D. and whose fame as a science historian are quite legitimate, gives us in *Triangle* an economy-sized package of three highly competent novels. *The Currents of Space* is the study of a future in which mankind has spread though the stars in a series of waves of conquest, and of the adventures of a brainwashed Earth technician in recovering his memory and the terrible warning he has for the planet on which he finds himself. *Pebble in the Sky* tells of a retired Chicago tailor who is whisked into the far future, to find a radioactive Earth in the grip of an extra-solar tyranny. *The Stars, Like Dust* deals with a student from a faraway planet who survives an assassination attempt at his Earth university, and is flung into a tangle of intercultural intrigue, the key to which is one of today's most treasured traditions. To blurt out descriptions like these of the three novels is to do injustice to the care with which they are constructed and especially to the ingenuity and insight Dr. Asimov is able to bring to his theories of the politico-cultural organism and how it grows.

The Best from Fantasy and Science Fiction, Tenth Series is the annual showcase of sf's "quality" magazine, in which one finds far and away the best literary skill in the field, a sliver or two of verse (this volume reprints some by board chairman Rosser Reeves) and the widest choice of excellences: the weird, the comic; satire, adventure, suspense and some items (like *Advise and Consent's* Allen Drury and his quasi-Gothic fragment) which defy categorization. The book also contains a chilling narrative of urban ceremonials almost as unforgettable as Steve Allen's now-classic *The Public Hating*, a touch of deep-space theology, a wildly funny bit of neo-folklore about the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow, and a great deal more—in all, seventeen stories, tastefully edited by the magazine's Robert P. Mills.

Serialized in F&SF some years ago, and now expanded for hardcover presentation, is *Three Hearts and Three Lions*. Poul Anderson's prose often sparks and rings like steel-shod hooves on ice-cold stone. He swashbuckles beautifully, and his plots are swift, tightly-knit, and reasonable within their own parameters, even when, as in this instance, they contain a GI on an underground mission in wartime Denmark who is flung back (or is it "back"?) into the legend of Avalon and Morgan le Fay. There are wicked and delightful



knights and goblins galore, and anyone who can't fall in love with Alianora, half girl and half swan, can turn in his sense-of-wonder and go have his glands candled.

Of the very best of modern sf writers, the news editor of the *Minneapolis Star* is the least lionized. Clifford Simak's special touch is a gentle and contemplative pace, a welcome change from the current fashion of hurling words downstairs at readers who always seem to be running along the street. *Time is the Simplest Thing* tells of a near-contemporary Earth in which—here's a switch!—space travel has proved impossible. The country is under the domination of an industrial complex whose stock in trade is ideas and devices brought in by the mental powers of its special operators, who can reach out with their minds to the farthest stars. One of the operators becomes "infected" by an alien intelligence, and escapes into a countryside ridden by superstition. All in all, this isn't Simak's best; yet it has much of sf's best, in its "fable" quality: that which makes it possible for the reader to take the ideas it provokes and remeasure his own environment. This is really what the thing called, and miscalled, sf is for.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE GREATEST PROBLEM, *and Other Essays*, by F. L. Lucas (Macmillan, $5). The art of conversation is supposedly dead, and in any case most of us have little chance to pursue its delights; our friends are usually too inarticulate, or too busy, or both. But the art of the essay is far from dead, as these examples by a famous Cambridge classicist amply establish; and anyone with a few hours to spare can savor the urbane pleasures of Mr. Lucas' pen. He ranges far and wide: from Tolstoy's tragic life and the Berlin airlift to the translation of ancient poetry and the nature of happiness; but he brings to every subject he touches a mature and cultivated taste, a graceful style, and a richly educated mind. We shall not, perhaps, agree with him on every point (as when, in the title essay, he confesses to a gloomy Malthusian dread of world overpopulation); but we are sure Mr. Lucas will not be offended. For he is that rarity in anyone's experience: a truly civilized man. W. A. RUSHER

THE PREDICAMENT OF DEMOCRATIC MAN, by Edmond Cahn (Macmillan, $3.95). According to Mr. Cahn, those who limit the state to specific defined functions are taking an "anthropomorphic" view of government. This "imperial, official" view is the great enemy of democracy, which should be founded on a "consumer view," demanding immediate justice on every issue, without regard to "legalisms." Judges should not split hairs on such matters as divided function, states rights, or limited charter, but simply come out for "the right thing," for Justice. There is no need to fear the anthropomorphic bogey man, "Big Government," since "we the people" are government and the creators who spur progress by "the excitement of glands and emotions that any man may experience when he witnesses the inflicting of injustice." This argument reminds us how easily democracy becomes majoritarian theocracy. The people have a god in their glands, whose rumblings must silence the quieter voices of custom and Constitution, of prescript and law. Mr. Cahn urges us to serve this digestive-tract deity with the virtue of "associability." A must for *McCall's* editors. G. WILLS

GERMANY'S EASTERN FRONTIERS, by Z. Michael Szaz (Regnery, $7.50). Most students of foreign affairs, if pressed on the subject, will affirm that the much-agitated "Berlin problem" cannot be solved until we have settled the larger issue of which Berlin is a part—until, that is, Germany has been reunified in freedom. Fewer acknowledge that the "German problem," in turn, cannot be settled until a third issue, that of the Oder-Neisse provinces, has been laid to rest. Following World War II, in a characteristic moment of folly, Communist Poland was given control over 24 per cent of the prewar provinces of Germany—to "compensate" for a similar landgrab by the Kremlin in eastern Poland. In this meticulous study, Dr. Szaz makes clear the moral and legal rights of Germany to the contested provinces, and, along the way, delivers a stinging indictment to the Western Allies for their complicity in Moscow's power-play. For those who would understand the German crisis in its full dimensions, Dr. Szaz has provided an illuminating book. M. S EVANS

AT LAST TO KISS AMANDA, by Frank Norris (McGraw-Hill, $4.95). The hero of Frank Norris' latest novel is unique in contemporary American fiction: though a Southerner and a businessman, he is a man of good will. Jackson Candless could rise to the top of a soft drink empire, and liquidate a labor leader not unlike Harry Bridges; but he had more than one man's share of disappointment in his private life. That was because he felt responsible for other people; personal loyalty is the subject of this engrossing book. Mr. Norris is a born storyteller, who can write with the best of them, adding his own brand of quietly penetrating humor, and surveying the American scene with a knowing and accurate eye. As moralist, he is on the side of generosity and decency, like Jackson Candless; as novelist, he is not afraid to develop his theme with fundamental episodes of love, life and death. F. FARR

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c) **all Academic Year subscriptions will end at one time—with the first issue in June.**

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The UNIVERSITY BOOKMAN

How Many College Teachers Are 'Moonlighters'?

The great majority of them hold two or more jobs concurrently, reports Prof. John A. Lukacs in the current issue of *The University Bookman.*

Prof. Lukacs, himself a "moonlighter" who teaches in two Catholic colleges in Philadelphia, writes, ". . . the origins of moonlighting are to be found within the present ethos of Labor for Labor's Sake, within diffused but strong survivals of the Puritan temper, within the social structure that arises in welfare states, within the insecure materialism and within the purposeless fretfulness that is so characteristic of our time. . ."

"Here is a problem that must be solved with candor," he concludes. "Let the colleges demand sixteen hours a week from their instructors and professors. But in exchange they must abandon the promotion, and possibly even the toleration, of moonlighting. . . . Professors should be required to be full-time men in the good sense of that term."

Every *National Review* subscriber receives *The University Bookman free.* Others may subscribe at two dollars a year for the four issues. Write The Editor, *The University Bookman,* Box 3070, Grand Central Station, New York.

To the Editor

Testing the Bomb

I, for one, am neither shocked, outraged, nor angered at news of Russian "resumption" of nuclear testing.

Why *shouldn't* the Soviets openly test their weapons? If the United States has no serious interest in prosecuting the Cold War or preparing for the hot one, there is no reason for the USSR to let its own efforts languish. Can we expect our enemies to stumble through the East-West struggle as feebly as we have done?

Five years after Budapest, Mr. Khrushchev has given us another object lesson in "Contempt for World Opinion Made Easy." Perhaps this time it will sink in.

Baltimore, Md. J. D. FUTCH

Colonial Restoration

I note with applause that Mrs. Kennedy has been exhuming and restoring to active service in the White House some of the historic relics of America's illustrious past. I suggest that her husband adopt a similar hobby. He could start by restoring the Constitution.

Rolling Hills, Cal. MARION H. BEEBE

Educational Experience

After reading the August 26 "From the Academy" column, I was sufficiently displeased by Russell Kirk's analysis of Charles A. M. Hall's sermon in Wellesley's Chapel to write this letter of protest.

I heard Mr. Hall's excellent sermon on the process of education, and was in full agreement with his ideas. It seemed to me that Mr. Kirk failed to do justice to the message of the sermon in his eagerness to support "authority" for authority's sake.

My basic disagreement with Mr. Kirk concerns the nature of a true educational experience. Mr. Hall was not asking for a passive, compliant mind; he was asking for openness, freshness, readiness. In the educational process, the mind becomes "broken" from the shock of the discovery that all men, in looking at truth, have seen different things. The fragile, shadowy concepts of childhood must become broken, and are either discarded or used as building blocks for a new structure of thought and a new, adult way of life. The role of authority comes in providing an example of enlightened wisdom, in presenting alternatives with clarity, not in imposing ideas by force. Brokenness, receptivity, awareness, are the essential prerequisites for acquiring conviction founded on personal acceptance rather than second-hand injection. I believe with Mr. Hall that the mind of each individual is an instrument—examining, choosing, creating—rather than, with Mr. Kirk, that it is merely a passive lump to be molded by "authority."

As for Mr. Kirk's two patron saints, who he says are not in vogue at Wellesley, I would suggest that he reread each of them. The primary message of the Socratic dialogues is that each man must realize that he knows nothing before he can acquire knowledge. Through the Socratic encounter, all men who learned from Socrates first had their minds "broken," just as Mr. Hall advised. And it was St. Paul himself who said "When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child. When I became a man, I gave up childish ways."

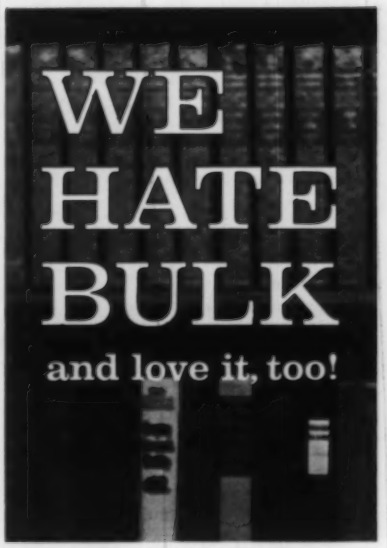
Memphis, Tenn. NANNERL OVERHOLSER
President (1960-61)
Wellesley College Chapel

Aptheker in Hawaii

An item in your August 12 "For the Record" column reads: "Japan refusing visa to U.S. Communist Herbert Aptheker to take part in Hiroshima commemoration ceremonies later this month. . . ."

Here's the sequel: At 4:30 p.m. on August 2, Comrade Aptheker arrived by Japan Air Lines at Honolulu International Airport, where he remained until 6 p.m. while his plane refueled, etc. for continued journey to Tokyo. He had received his visa too late to notify local comrades of his impending arrival, so nobody greeted him at the airport.

However, the Executive Vice President of our local anti-Communist organization, the Hawaii Foundation for American Freedoms (known here as *Imua*, a Hawaiian word meaning "forward") "happened" to



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be at the airport with his camera, with which he recorded the following sequence:

Aptheker made a phone call. In half an hour a car sped into the airport parking area, screeched to a stop, and a man carrying a brief case ran to the terminal waiting room where he warmly greeted Aptheker. The two carried on an animated conversation until Aptheker's plane was ready to take off for Japan at 6 p.m.

The man who rushed so madly to meet Aptheker was John Kelly Jr., a local fellow-traveler who attended the Communist-sponsored Hiroshima meetings in 1959 and 1960, who has consistently followed the Party line in Honolulu for years, but who always denies being a Communist. Strange, then, that Herbert Aptheker, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and editor of the official theoretical journal of the Party, *Political Affairs*, should make his one phone call to this man who denies Communist affiliation, and that this man should be the only person in Honolulu to confer with Aptheker during his short stay here! *Imua*, however, has the photographic evidence.

Honolulu, Hawaii LARRY MAYNARD

Mater et Magistra

Without considering the issue of whether your editorial on *Mater et Magistra* was right or wrong in its assessment of that encyclical, I would like to defend your rights to comment pro or con on the value of the encyclical.

In defense of this right I will quote from an article, "Freedom and Authority in Roman Catholicism," written by Daniel J. Callahan, a teaching fellow in Roman Catholic studies at Harvard Divinity School. Mr. Callahan is a Catholic. His article first appeared in *Christianity and Crisis* (Oct. 3, 1960) and then was reprinted in *Catholic Mind* (March-April, 1961). The editor of *Catholic Mind* is the Rev. Thurston N. Davis, S.J., who also happens to be editor-in-chief of *America*. We shall see that besides wearing two hats, Father Davis' hats are of different colors. In *America*, he finds your freedom of expression distasteful, but as editor of *Catholic Mind* he in effect defends that freedom of expression.

Before quoting Mr. Callahan, I will quote the subhead used for his article in *Catholic Mind*. This subhead, a summing up of the thesis of the article, was written by either Father Davis or an assistant. As editor, of course, Father Davis is responsible for it. "It would be extremely useful if the Catholic could present a neat, detailed guide to the structure and the nature of Church authority. To wish for such a guide, however, would betray a fundamental misunderstanding of Church authority as the Catholic sees it."

Mr. Callahan wrote:

"There are, to be sure, numerous descriptions of the teaching and disciplinary authority of the Church and the hierarchy couched in general language to be found in Catholic manuals of ecclesiology. It is certainly true, for instance, that every Catholic is bound to accept the teaching of the Church as declared by the Popes and councils. It is equally true that the Catholic is bound to respect the direction and guidance of his bishop in matters of faith and morals. Yet having said this (or anything of like abstractness) one has not said anything very helpful for dealing with specific teachings, pronouncements or directives.

"First of all, given a specific statement, there will be the problem of determining the kind of assent it requires. All teachings are not equally

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binding; all pronouncements not equally solemn; some will require simple obedience while others will require internal assent to their truth as well."

A few paragraphs later, Mr. Callahan says that in any given case "there will be honest and legitimate differences from nation to nation and from individual to individual." And that given this situation "it is extremely difficult to deduce from any abstract definition of Catholic authority the specific weight of a given papal or episcopal statement." But, he notes, and how true this is we now know, "This is not to say that Catholics do not attempt such deductions; quite evidently we do."

And then to the heart of the matter: "The very nature and practice of Catholic authority presupposes that the individual has a conscience, a mind and a free will, and that it is his obligation to respect them. In no instance may the Catholic violate his conscience. In every instance he must think and make a personal decision. Precisely these requirements—in the eyes of the Catholic—distinguish the system of Catholic authority from that of either a military system or a totalitarian government."

Mr. Callahan was one of a group of Catholic intellectuals who favored the election of John F. Kennedy to the presidency. When he was under attack by non-Catholics who claimed that as a Catholic he would not have full freedom to defend the Constitution, these Catholic intellectuals set the matter straight, and did an excellent job of it.

On October 5, 1960 Mr. Callahan and 165 other Catholics signed a statement on religious freedom. It did much to clear the air. It set forth certain principles regarding the freedom of religious conscience, religious freedom, separation of Church and State, and the freedom of a member of a church to accept its teachings.

It is clear that Father Davis was willing to publicize the fact that Senator Kennedy as a Catholic was a free man, but this freedom he now seems to be denying to William F. Buckley, your editor. The editor of *America* is not the only Catholic editor who is acting in this strange manner. Many of those who defended President Kennedy's freedom, now are ramming "Catholic teachings" down the throats of Catholic conservatives. This freedom that *America* has been teaching for lo these many years has become a "bone in the throat" because the conservatives have come to believe in it too. Seemingly *America* was preaching only to the Liberals.

It would seem that *America*, to be consistent with its editorial tradition, should now be saying that although it does not agree with NATIONAL REVIEW or Mr. Buckley in these matters, it will defend their right to hold and speak their convictions.

St. Benedict, Ore. PETER F. CLARKE

Mickey, Neither

In your August 26 issue, W. H. von Dreele ["One Step Forward, Two Steps Back"] lists among the JFK advisers Miss Minnie Mouse.

I object! Minnie Mouse would have no part of the White House Cheese.

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Conspired Tension

I have read Garry Wills' "Reasoning on Race" [August 26] and also Carleton Putnam's *Race and Reason,* which Mr. Wills seems to be trying to belittle. While it seems to me that both authors do have points, I believe that Mr. Putnam has more constructive ones than does Mr. Wills.

Putnam does sort of dwell on the premise that the black races have been "inferior" to the white ones, and that their culture (as measured in terms of the Negro towns in the Congo, etc.) has never been as advanced as that of the white races. Perhaps Mr. Wills would not find it so offensive if Mr. Putnam referred to the state of development as being merely *different*—instead of "inferior." Who can say but that, in absolute terms, the Congo villages may be better than American villages? But I would agree with Mr. Putnam if he said that the white culture was different from that of the colored.

However, the unfortunate fact—in this instance—seems to me to be that Mr. Wills totally ignores the very significant fact which Mr. Putnam develops, *viz.,* that the present growing racial tension is largely a conspired thing. . . .

I believe he could have done a better service to Americans of all races if he could have devoted some of his efforts to an affirmative consideration of some of Putnam's comments on the synthetic causes for the present racial "uproar"—which is mainly another example of that hoary technique of "Let's you and him fight."

Dry Branch, Ga. S. C. LYONS

Needlework, Not Federal Aid

John D. Kreuttner's cartoon of the wild-haired gentleman about to hang his sign: "STOP CRITICIZING THE NEW FRONT TIRE" [July 15] is the funniest thing I've seen in ages. I'd like to have one for my very own.

My grandma used to needlework slogans like "Home Sweet Home" for folks to hang on their walls. The pay she received for this bit of sewing helped keep her off the welfare lists, and she wasn't always wishing the government would pay her way. Maybe today's grandmas could embroider that cartoon slogan and the grandpas would like to make the frames. . . .

Alton, Ill. JOHN BOLAND

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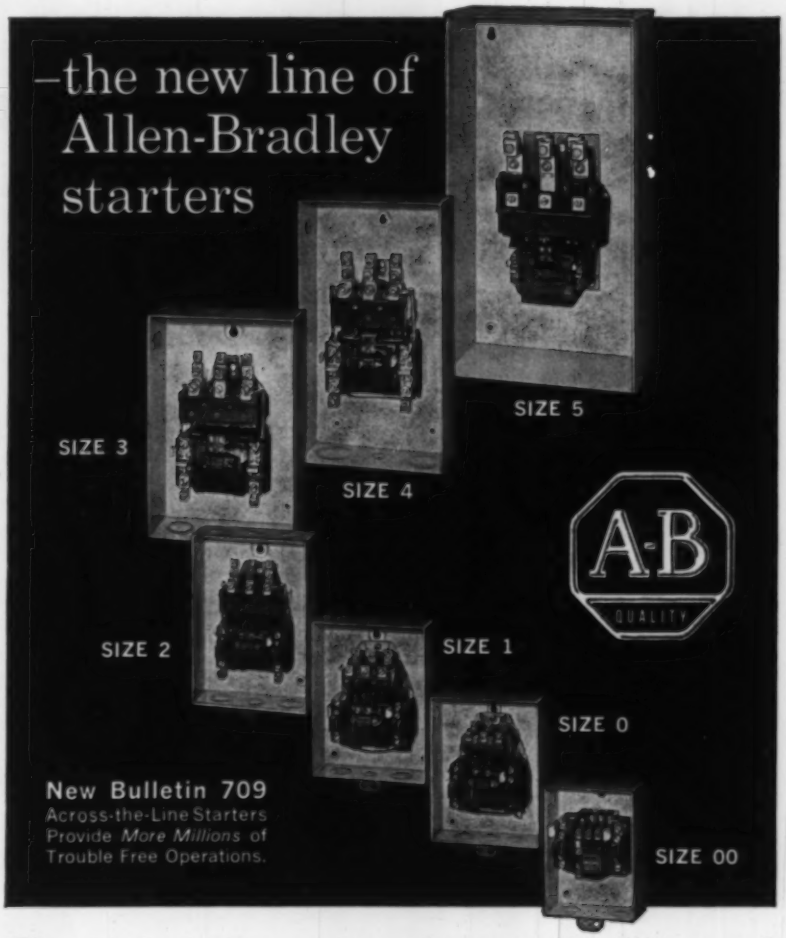

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Reflections

Reading Vincent Miller's "Forebodings of the Founders" [August 12], I could not help but reflect on the prophetic nature of Adams' concern over "the Bubble of her own Nobleness of Sentiment," how the "Bubble" became a full-blown balloon in 1932, and what a "pop" it made when Castro exploded it for Messrs. Kennedy, Stevenson, *et al.*

Grossmont, Cal. WALLACE R. JOHNSON

The Difference

Mr. James H. Ware asks ["To the Editor," August 26] for an inexpensive guide "on how to tell a Liberal from a Communist." Nothing could be simpler. A Liberal is *sorry* that he has to break eggs in order to make an omelet.

Chicago, Ill. GEORGE W. PRICE

Happy!

I thoroughly enjoyed every word of your September 9 issue. . . . One can only stand amazed at a magazine which in a single issue provides: a total demolition of Nelson Rockefeller in a single paragraph (p. 145); a very practical and significant call for political action (p. 146); a frank admission that you were as confused as the rest of us by the extraordinary action of Janio Quadros (pp. 148-149); a brief but brilliant analysis of a basic conservative problem, to distinguish clearly between Communists and Liberals while remaining vividly aware of the manner in which they do share a common "wave length" (pp. 149-150); a glimpse of the editor himself contending with striking gladiatorial effect in an arena full of Liberal lions (p. 151); a discriminating analysis of how to deal from the conservative standpoint with a major national problem, the steady rewriting of the Constitution by the Warren Court (Mr. Bozell's article); an essay by one standing at an opposite ideological pole from you (Murray Kempton) who in the context of his review nevertheless has much to say that we can all agree with; and one of the best laughs I've had in a long time, re Mr. Ralph Jorgensen, who may, or may not exist, but whether or not he does, is indubitably priceless. The picture of that foundering ship rising by its bootstraps surely deserves a niche in some inverse Literary Hall of Fame. Thanks, and thanks again.

Shreveport, La. WARREN H. CARROLL

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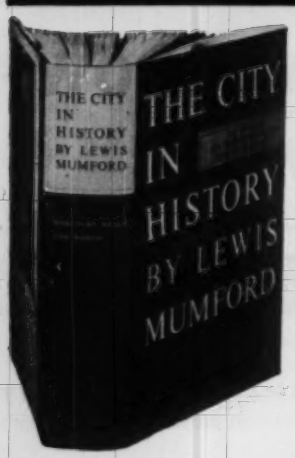

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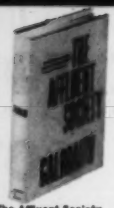

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